A SHORT HISTORY OF HIND-PAKISTAN

Prepared by

PAKISTAN HISTORY BOARD

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FOREWORD

The study of history in the widest sense of the term plays a vital role in the nation-building programme of a people. This is particularly true in the case of those who want to raise the structure of their society on the foundations of some ideology. One of our greatest needs, therefore, was to provide the people, especially the student community, with authentic books on our past history and culture. It was to take a step in this direction that in 1949, when I held the portfolio of Education, the Government of Pakistan appointed a Board comprised of the most prominent historians of the country.

The need of rewriting the history of the sub-continent is so obvious that I do not think it is necessary to say anything about it. It is a well-known fact that the traditions of history-writing created by the western writers during the last two hundred years were not based on objectivity. Most of them were in the civil or military service of the Government and as such it was not possible for them to take a detached view of the events and occurrences of their own times ; even in the case of the earlier periods they wrote under strong prejudices and handicaps. Not thoroughly conversant with the customs and manners and the ideas and practices of the people living in the sub-continent they were bound to misinterpret our history. Add to this the difficulty of utilizing and interpreting the original sources; the oriental historian had his own style of writing and his own way of saying things. Dr. Smith's complaint that " the historical matter in Abul Fazl's book is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric " is understandable. But we cannot ignore the fact that it was this " tedious rhetoric " which some of the greatest historians of later generations regarded as an ideal style for their books. To read these stupendous works in translations is almost an ordeal, and if the

translation is not careful the conclusions based on it are bound to be misleading.

Far more dangerous than this are the possibilities of misinterpretation and misconstruction of facts. Aurangzib has been declared a sinner on his own evidence, because he has " confessed " in one of his letters that he was carrying from this world a bundle of sins : Tipu Sultan has been dubbed " a savage and cruel despot ", the great mujahid, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his co-workers have hardly been noticed by our modern historians ; and above all, the Great War of Indpendence (1857-58) has been treated as a " Mutiny or Sepoy Revolt ". These are only a few of the myriads of case of misinterpretation by historians who had their own prejudices and shortcomings. Indeed a considerable mass of debris has to be removed if our history is to be presented in its true perspective.

It gives me a great pleasure to find that *A Short History of Hind-Pakistan* prepared by the Pakistan History Board is now being published by the Pakistan Historical Society.

The *Short History of Hind-Pakistan*, which has been prepared with the assistance and co-operation of a number of history teachers and scholars, will not only prove to be a useful text-book for students in schools and colleges but can also be read with advantage by persons generally interested in the history of the sub-continent. The writers and publishers of text-books for lower classes can utilize it as a source-book. In short, we hope, this book will answer a long-felt desire of our people and will play an important role in the teaching of history in Pakistan.

We are grateful to the Government of Pakistan for giving the copyright of the book to the Pakistan Historical Society.

FAZLUR RAHMAN,
President,
Pakistan Historical Society,

Karachi :
July, 1955

PREFACE

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan the need for a correct and scientific presentation of our history began to be felt strongly. The Government of Pakistan, therefore, appointed the Pakistan History Board for recasting the history syllabi and preparing standard books on history. The Board thought it best to begin with a Short History of Hind-Pakistan. The primary purpose of this work is to provide a readable book for the student and the general reader. As a matter of policy it was decided that the selection of contributors should be made on a country-wide basis. The co-operative method, however, affected the unity of conception and the uniformity of style on the one hand and the method of treatment and interpretation on the other. Although the Board has tried to minimize the effects of this diversity in style and interpretation yet it was not possible for them to go beyond a certain limit in the process of revising and editing the original contributions. The contributors, who have been largely selected from amongst college or university teachers of history, are scholars of repute.

The members of the Board are conscious of certain obvious shortcomings of the book : but the circumstances in which the book was prepared made it difficult to eliminate all defects without causing undue delay in its publication. An attempt has been made in this book to present the various problems of Indo-Pakistan history, particularly those which have provoked controversies, in a purely objective manner and to utilize the latest researches on various topics.

A word may be added about the transliteration of names. Generally speaking, our text-books follow no system and consequently differ in their spellings of even the most well

known of proper names. Another factor that has made the position of the writers rather difficult is that a number of place-names have changed their form and spelling owing to the influence of the West. After carefully considering the various aspects of the problem and in view of the complex nature of the systems that have been followed by the Orientalists of different countries, the Board has decided to adopt a modified system. Popular spellings of well-known names have been retained.

In the end, the Board thanks the contributors, whose co-operation and assistance have greatly helped the Board in completing this work.

MAHMUD HUSAIN,
Chairman,
Pakistan History Board.

Karachi :
November 13, 1951.

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Introductory

CHAPTER I

THE SUBCONTINENT : GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

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Land and many attractions

The Hind-Pakistan subcontinent is a peninsula facing the Indian Ocean. It is separated from the rest of the continent by the gigantic mountain ranges, the Himalayas and their eastern and western offshoots. These mountains are difficult to cross except through a few passes, like the Khaibar Pass, and extend to nearly 1500 miles in the north, the north-west and the north-east. The sea-coast is some 5,000 miles long with very few natural harbours.

The subcontinent has several mighty rivers, such as the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, many mountains, great and small, a variety of land forms and soils and a number of useful minerals and ores. It produces a variety of food and money crops. As a result, it has, throughout history, attracted foreigners from many lands.

Regions and sub-regions

Although the subcontinent forms a distinctive unit, its physiography is such that, according to the geology and relief of the land, it comprises three well-defined regions, which are:—

(i) The extra peninsular mountains;

(ii) The Indo-Gangetic plains; and

(iii) The peninsular South.

Within these three major divisions there are several minor sub-regions with contrasting physical and climatic conditions, with the result that a complex pattern of human geography has

been formed. Several ranges striking in different directions and enclosing river valleys, dry belts or forested areas, have created a number of haterogeneous cultures which have never been unified into an all-embracing civilization. Such a physical environment could only produce a haterogeneous mass of peoples with many ways of life, creeds and traditions, speaking different languages and wearing different kinds of dresses. Consequently this subcontinent has been the abode of many nationalities which have been sometimes subjugated by large empires, but never unified. Even the forms of government have varied in accordance with geography. The climatic diversity, with latitudes ranging from 7° N to 37° N, has added to the differences in ways of life.

(1) The extra peninsular mountains

Millions of years ago the legendary tethys sea flowed where now stand the mountains of the Himalayan range rising in several places to over 20,000 feet above the sea level, with Mount Everest as the highest peak. They contain comparatively recent sedimentary rocks and are highly folded, faulted and fissured. Such unstable mountains cause frequent earthquakes. Besides harbouring eternal snows, the Himalayas serve the subcontinent as a solid wall, stopping the monsoon currents from crossing over to Tibet. But for them a large part of the land would have remained a tropical desert.

Historically the most important passes are Khaibar, the Bolan and the Gomal in the north-west. There are also a few minor passes in the eastern ranges of the Himalayas. These passes have served as routes for trade and exchange of cultures between the subcontinent and the countries beyond. The climate in this region varies with the altitude of the ranges as well as with the latitude; the rainfall decreases as we go from east to west. On the slopes of the mountains, there are deep gorges, cut by rivers through the ranges, some grand forests and magnificent water falls.

(2) The Indo-Gangetic plains

Before the rising of the Himalayas from the tethys sea this land did not exist; but as the mountains rose and fell and rose again and the rivers brought their load of silt and sand and other materials, this trough was filled up. In its place now there are alluvial plains with the Himalayan rivers flowing through them and forming large deltas. The city of Delhi lies prominently at the darting between the Indus system on one side and the Ganges system on the other. Some of their tributaries in Pakistan and Bharat have been trained for irrigation. Many a decisive battle has been fought in this zone owing to the clash between the people living in the country and those who came from outside.

(3) Peninsular India

The triangular part of Hind-Pakistan called the Deccan Plateau is quite different from the regions described above. It consists of the most ancient and stable land-mass, originally belonging to Gondwana land, which was once connected with Africa. The mountains are low with rugged tablelands lying in between. This region consists of rocks and soils formed mostly of old Achaean and volcanic material which is highly denuded and weathered. It has a large number of mineral deposits. The three sides of the plateau are flanked on the west and the east by the Western and the Eastern Ghats respectively, and on the north by the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges. Between the sea and the Ghats are narrow strips of coast-land, called the Konkan and the Malabar in the west and the Coromondal in the east. Among the rivers there are the Narbada and the Tapti flowing westwards into the gulf of Cambay, and the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Kistna and the Cauveri flowing eastwards into the Bay of Bengal. The south-west monsoon waters the land unevenly, while the retreating north-east monsoon affects only the small south-eastern corner of the peninsula.

Area and Population

This subcontinent is a vast land-mass covering an area of 1,581,410 square miles, and in 1941, its population was about 389,000,000. Out of this, Pakistan, at the time of partition in 1947, received 360,935 square miles with an approximate population of 75 million. The population of Pakistan and Bharat according to the census of 1951 is 75,842,000 and 357,500,000 respectively.

As has been mentioned before, geographical diversity has created a large number of cultural and racial groups. The inhabitants of this subcontinent have never formed a single nation, though attempts have been made in the past to unify them. The Muslims, and lately the British, created an appearance of unity by giving the major part of the subcontinent a uniform administration and sometimes a single government. Means of communication tended to bring about a superficial homogeneity, but could not produce that unity of outlook which alone can create a nation.

Through the few difficult but accessible mountain passes in the north-west and the north-east, many peoples entered the subcontinent at different times and under different circumstances. Others landed at some of the river and sea ports and settled there. Where the land is fertile, as in the great river valleys, there is much pressure on it but where there is scarcity of water and the land is unproductive, the population is thin.

There are eight racial groups in the subcontinent :

(1) Proto-Dravidian; (2) Dravidian; (3) Indo-Aryan; (4) Aryo-Dravidian; (5) Scytho-Dravidian; (6) Mongoloid; (7) Mongolo-Dravidian and (8) Turko-Iranian.

(1) Proto-Dravidians.

Certain aboriginal groups living in primitive conditions and inhabiting inaccessible forest areas are the remnants of the original inhabitants of the subcontinent.

(2) Dravidians

They were at first identified with the aboriginal tribes but now scholars think that they migrated before the dawn of history into the subcontinent and created the civilization represented by Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Driven far into the interior, across the low ranges of mountains, like the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, they now occupy the southern portion of the Peninsula.

(3) Aryans

The Aryans, whose original home is still a subject of controversy, entered this subcontinent through the passes in the north-west. Their civilization was mainly pastoral and not as advanced as that of the Dravidians. Later they made great progress in agricultural industries.

(4) Aryo-Dravidians

More Aryans continued to enter the subcontinent in successive waves and the earlier settlers were forced to migrate into the interior. They took wives from among the local population which was overwhelmingly Dravidian and produced a mixed race of Aryo-Dravidians.

(5) Scytho-Dravidians

The Scythians, who invaded India from across the Iron Plateau also added to the population of the subcontinent and by mingling with the Dravidians produced the Scytho-Dravidian type.

(6) Mangoloids

These people mostly entered by the north-east route from China and Tibet. They are a short, yellow-skinned, oblique-eyed and flat-faced race and inhabit Nepal, Bhutan and Assam.

(7) Mongolo-Dravidians

The Mongoloids, who inter-married with the Dravidians and other natives, produced the mixed group of Mongolo-Dravidians who are mostly found in Bengal and Orissa.

(8) Turko-Iranians

A mixture of the Aryan elements of Iran and Turkistan, forming a separate group, is traced in the highlands of the north-west and Baluchistan. They are fair-skinned and have long and narrow noses.

Besides the racial groups enumerated above, substantial migrations of Semites have also taken place into the subcontinent from time to time.

Languages

There are over 175 different languages, with more than 500 dialects, spoken in the subcontinent. Of these twenty-three are important. They belong to three different families and can be grouped as Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian.

Generally speaking the Mongolian languages are spoken in the mountainous regions of the north; the Dravidian languages in the southern part of the peninsula and the Indo-Aryan languages in the rest of the subcontinent. The contact with the Muslims produced a new language based upon a Prakritic grammar and employing a varied vocabulary drawn from the languages of the Muslim settlers and the indigenous population. This language, called Urdu, became the mother-tongue of a large proportion of the population and is now spoken and understood throughout the subcontinent.

Religions

According to the census of 1941, the following was the distribution of population on the basis of religions:—

(i)	Hindus	254,930,506
(ii)	Muslims	92,058,096
(iii)	Christians	6,316,549
(iv)	Sikhs	5,601,447
(v)	Jains	1,449,286
(vi)	Buddhists	232,003
(vii)	Zoroastrians	114,890
(viii)	Jews	22,480
(ix)	Animists and others	25,851,366

Geographical Features of Pakistan

Pakistan consists of two quite distinct zones. The western zone includes the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, the highlands of the north-west and the plateau of Baluchistan.

There are good water-falls in the mountains which can be used for the production of hydro-electricity, and the deep drift soils in the Punjab and Sind are among the most fertile agricultural areas in the world. The other zone consists of the eastern part of the rich Brahmaputra-Ganges delta, including Sylhet and the Chittagong Hills. Both these zones owe their origin to the same geological circumstances in the past epochs and the rocks are also of the same age. They contain deposits of petroleum, tertiary coal, gypsum, rock-salt, chromite, marble, antimony and sands and clays of various kinds. Pakistan is devoid of ancient Archaean and other rocks of volcanic and igneous types.

Climatically the two zones present a contrast. Western Pakistan is dry with high summer temperatures and scanty and variable rainfall. East Pakistan, on the other hand, has copious rainfall and vegetation, while the temperatures are never extreme. As a result of this, the economic products of the two sectors are to a large extent complementary. Agriculture is the main industry, wheat and cotton being the main crops in the west and jute and rice in the east.

The description of Pakistan's natural resources can best be summed up in the inspiring words of the Quaid-i-Azam:

"Nature has given you everything; you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you Godspeed."

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Importance of the study of History

Attempts have sometimes been made to lay down a scientific and precise definition of 'History', but it is one of those commonly used terms whose meaning and scope are difficult to define. However, it will serve our purpose if we understand history, to be a science which aims at studying important changes in the growth of human civilization. All of us find it interesting to know something about the past; besides such knowledge is absolutely essential for a proper understanding of the present. History is to society what memory is to an individual. The mind of a man would be paralysed and rendered utterly inactive, if he were to forget all that had happened to him in the past and all that he had previously seen, heard and felt. In fact he would lose the consciousness of his self and the cognizance of his personality. It would at least for all practical purposes mean the end of his existence as an individual. What is true of the individual is equally true of a group of individuals—a community, a nation, a people or any other social unit.

A careful examination of the stages of progress in the story of human civilization will show that changes in our outlook and thought have never been abrupt and that they have always assumed shape gradually in the womb of time. Just as an individual's character is moulded under the influence of the myriad impressions which it gathers from its environment, so the character of a people is formed under the shadow of crises and wars, joys and sufferings, pains and pleasures, victories and defeats; in fact by its whole struggle for existence, its efforts for supremacy and leadership in the various spheres of life and all the set-backs it has suffered during periods of inaction or foreign domination. It is, therefore, impossible to know a people without knowing its history. Indeed to understand

the present structure of our life we have to dig deep into our past, because historical continuity is the basic foundation of the growth of all civilization.

We shall now briefly discuss the method employed in the writing of history, which has risen to the status and dignity of a science. The work of a historian comprises two distinct kinds of activity:

(1) establishment of facts;

(2) interpretation of facts thus established.

No doubt a historian has his own material to work upon, but he cannot just pick it up at will; he has to dig it from underneath the heaps of debris. Having found his facts he must co-ordinate them and give them a shape which is a true picture of the life of the period with which he is dealing. The second stage of his work is synthesis. But for this the rapidity with which historical facts are accumulating would overwhelm the mind of the students of history.

Contribution made by the Muslims to the study of History

History is one of the oldest of sciences known to humanity, and its significance was realised by the ancients. It has become customary to call the Greek historian, Herodotus, 'Father of History', but its roots go much deeper. In early times the traditional accounts of the glorious deeds of past heroes were handed down from generation to generation. With the progress of civilization the character and method of preserving historical information became more definite. Its scope was extended and enthusiastic scholars began to study and write the histories of other nations as well; they would either visit these lands personally or collect information from reliable travellers and merchants. In some cases the accounts of the foreigners have been the only or the main source of information on some of the very vital aspects of a nation's history. About Alexander's campaign of the subcontinent, for example, we should have had no knowledge, if the Greek writers had not left an eye-witness account.

There is no doubt that the study of history was very popular with the Greeks and the Romans in their days of glory, but the contribution made by the Muslims to the growth and development of this science was far greater than the achievement of any other people before or after the rise of Islam. As in the case of other branches of learning, the great enthusiasm exhibited by the Muslims for the study of history was due to the general desire to seek knowledge which has been so emphatically enjoined by their Faith. The Holy Prophet's saying that 'learning was to be sought after even though it were to be found in China' has in all ages been the main source of inspiration for his followers. The *Qur'an* refers to a number of historical events pertaining to different peoples and reminds its readers again and again about the disastrous consequences of evil deeds and wrong methods. This bias created by the *Qur'an* in favour of history was further strengthened by the study of *Hadith* which laid the foundation of Muslim historiography. Muslim scholars evolved a scientific method of determining the authenticity of a tradition, in which they anticipated the modern methods of critical research. Never has historical evidence been weighed more carefully and never have the integrity and character of persons quoted as authorities been examined more critically.

The oldest biographical work on the life of the Holy Prophet is the '*Sirah*' of Ibn Ishaq which has been preserved in the recension of Ibn Hisham. Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqat* is the first great book of classified sketches of persons of note. Al-Waqidi's book, '*Almaghazi*, is one of the earliest works on wars and conquests. An important historian of early Islam was Baladhuri whose *Futuh-ul-Buldan* is the first attempt to consolidate scattered information concerning conquests of cities and lands. These historians laid great emphasis on transmitting information in its original form without additions or alterations.

In the introduction of his monumental *Tarikh*, Tabari refers to this principle when he says, "we only transmit to others as has been transmitted to us". Tabari's work begins with the Creation and comes up to the early years of the tenth century. It is renowned for the richness of its details and the accuracy of its information. The arrangement of the book is chronological, events having been detailed under the year of the Muslim calendar in which they occurred. This method became popular, due to the ease with which dates could be ascertained, and was followed by most historians. In his encyclopædic *Muruj-udh-dhahab* Masudi, who after Tabari was the greatest historian of Islam, inaugurated a new system. Instead of narrating events around years, he groups them around kings, dynasties and topics. Ibn Khallikan (1211-82) compiled what may be termed a dictionary of national biography. His great work *Kitab Wafayat-ul-A'yan* contains in alphabetical order the lives of a number of the celebrated persons of Muslim history and literature, excepting the Prophet, his companions and their immediate successors. These few books have been mentioned for purposes of illustration. The number of distinguished Muslim historians is so large that they cannot be mentioned here by name.

Muslim historians have also made valuable contributions to what has been called the philosophy of history. In this connection Ibn Khaldun's name will always occupy a place of eminence among the historians of the world. He was the first historian to formulate a comprehensive system of the philosophy of history, and to lay down the basic principles of historiography. He analyses in detail the physical and moral causes of the rise and fall of nations, and explains the effect of environment and geography on their social, economic, religious and intellectual life. He has enumerated the reasons which have led the historians to accept incorrect reports without rational examination of the facts and figures. Among

these he mentions personal idiosyncracies, pre-determined opinions and religious and other prejudices, acceptance of reports as genuine and correct without critical study of the circumstances, and the character and motives of the reporters; failure to see causes which led to the origin and currency of the report or to the misunderstanding of events; inability to verify reports with attendant circumstances and to distinguish the real from the artificial; failure to discover the motive behind the circulation of laudatory and eulogistic tales about men of position and rank in order to acquire their favour and confidence; and, finally, lack of knowledge of human nature.

In conclusion it may be noted that the circumstances under which Muslims began to develop the science of history, its close connection with the study of *Hadith* and the wide range of its popularity among the Muslim people created a noble tradition of maintaining a very high standard of truth and honesty on the one hand and critical examination of evidence on the other. In short they raised history to the level of a science at a time when even the greatest writers of European and other nations could at best be called 'annalists'.

Sources

Historical Literature

In our own subcontinent the art of writing history began with the advent of the Muslims. Not a single book was written on history in the subcontinent before the establishment of Muslim rule. The Muslims, true to their old tradition of studying the life and history of the peoples and the countries with whom they came into contact, started working on Indo-Pakistan history very early. The *Chachnamah*, the earliest of our authorities for the history of Sind, is the Persian translation of an earlier Arabic work. With the conquests of Sultan Mahmud, the interest of the Muslims in this subcontinent became intensified. Baihaqi and 'Utbi are two of the several

well-known writers of this period, but the most famous of them was al-Biruni who stayed here for several years to study the language and manners of the people of this subcontinent. His book is a mine of information and has been fully utilised by the scholars of later centuries. It stands unrivalled as an objective and sympathetic study of the religion and life of an alien people by a historian belonging to a ruling nation.

It would be difficult to mention all the writers whose works can be studied as source-books for our history; but with a view to illustrate how keenly interested the Muslims were in studying history and how great is the contribution that they have made to the development of this science in our subcontinent it is necessary to make passing reference to some of the better-known books.

For the life and history of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam and the early Sultans of Dehli, the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Qaḍi Minhaj-ud-din Siraj is the best source, and is held in great esteem. For the Khalji and Tughluq periods Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Haḍrat Amir Khusraw's works have served as the best source material. Nor can we ignore Shams-ir-Siraj, 'Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and the small monograph written by the Sultan himself. Under the Sayyids, Yahya bin Ahmad wrote a brief but useful general history of Muslim rule and named it *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* after the reigning monarch. The founder of the Mughul dynasty has rightly been called "Prince of Diarists", for the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* besides being an extremely reliable account of the history of its royal author is one of the most charming autobiographies written in any language. Jauhar, the ewer-bearer of Humayun, wrote an entertaining account of the main events of his master's reign and called it *Tadhkirat-ul-Waqi'at*. In the reign of Akbar a number of books were written. Of these Abul Faḍl's *Akbarnamah* is the most detailed and voluminous account of Akbar's reign. The *Ain-i-Akbari*—unique in its character—

supplies us with authentic and valuable information about the economic condition prevailing in the Empire and the working of the administrative machinery. It also gives an admirable account of the philosophy of the Hindus. Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* is, by general consent, one of the most reliable and balanced histories written in this sub-continent. Jahangir's autobiography—*Tuzuk i Jahangiri*—is as authentic as Babur's *Memoirs*, though different in style and character. The well-known history of Firishta was also written about this time. For Shahjahan's reign we have the *Badshah-namah* of Abdul Hamid, besides several other works '*Alamgir-namah* describes the events of the first ten years of Awrangzib's reign, for the later years we have the *Ma'athir-i 'Alamgiri*. But perhaps the best source of information for his reign are the thousands of official and non-official letters written by the Emperor himself. They have been preserved in various collections, but most of them are in manuscript form. In the period of decline that followed the death of Awrangzib several important books were written. Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* and Ghulam Hussain's *Siyarul Muta'akharin* are also voluminous general histories and are useful as original sources of contemporary and nearly contemporary periods. A different kind of work produced in this period is Shah Nawaz's 'Biographical Dictionary' of the Mughul nobility—*Ma'athirul Umara*. That the Muslims retained their interests in the study of history even in the days of their decline is proved by the fact that in the latter half of the nineteenth century which was a period of frustration following in the wake of their failure in the War of Independence, they produced an eminent historian like Maulana Zakaullah whose volumes on our history deserve to be counted as classics.

The principal historians have devoted considerable space to administrative reforms and institutions, economic conditions and cultural matters. Some books were written specifically about these topics.

While studying the history of a country we do not confine our attention to the perusal of historical literature. There are other sources which help us in either supplementing and verifying the information that we gather from contemporary works or in some cases providing us with entirely new facts. These supplementary sources of information have a special value in the study of pre-Muslim history of the subcontinent, because in the absence of historical works of that period they are our primary sources. These may be classified under the following heads:—

Religious and other non-historical Literature

Experience has shown that sometimes we find valuable historical information in books dealing with religion, philosophy, poetry, drama, etc. The *Vedas* and the epic poems of the Hindus have been frequently used to reconstruct the story of the Indo-Aryans. Even in the later centuries works on drama and poetry have been utilized as sources of information. *Harsha-Charita* may be mentioned as an example. Such books throw light on social conditions and occasionally add to our knowledge of the period.

Coins and Inscriptions

They have proved of immense help to the writers of history, particularly in determining and verifying dates of important events. Inscriptions, which have been preserved in large numbers, have sometimes yielded very valuable information.

Monuments and Ruins of old buildings

Their utility in the study of history is so great that archæology has now become a regular science taught and studied in the Universities. Every civilized country has made arrangements to preserve its old monuments, which are a living proof of its past glory and the stage of advancement attained by it in days gone by. No amount of description in words could give us a better picture of the advanced stage of culture and society than a

visit to the Taj Mahal or other monuments of the Mughul Emperors.

Foreign visitors and travellers

The accounts of foreign visitors are sometimes useful, particularly in the case of ancient India for which we have no contemporary historical literature. The best source of information for the reign of the first great Hindu ruler of Northern India, Chandra Gupta Maurya, is the account given by a foreigner, Megasthenes. Similarly the Buddhist pilgrims, Fahein and Hieun Tsang, have left valuable records of what they saw in this part of the world during their sojourns. The well-known Moorish traveller, Ibn Battutah, who travelled over the greater part of the then known world, has left in the record of his travels an interesting account of the empire of Muhammad bin Tughluq. It is, however, to be borne in mind that sometimes the accounts of the foreigners are misleading and unreliable. This is particularly true of the European travellers who visited this subcontinent in the time of the Mughul Emperors. Besides having strong racial prejudices, they had very limited and usually unreliable sources of information; and most of them were incapable of observing intelligently.

PART II

The Subcontinent before the Advent of the Muslims

CHAPTER III

PRE-ARYAN CULTURE

The conventional date for the first arrival of invaders speaking an Aryan language in what is now West Pakistan is the 15th century B.C. To understand the ancient and even the modern history of Pakistan, we must know something of the country before the Aryans came to it.

In the distant epoch we are at the mercy of archæology. In Pakistan, no written word that we can understand relates historically to a period earlier than the Aryans. But by digging carefully into the soil, and finding what things are buried more deeply, and are therefore more ancient, we gradually reconstruct a sequence of objects and cultures which constitutes a rough-and-read time-table. And then by comparing some of these objects with others found elsewhere, for instance, in Mesopotamia, where written history began earlier, we are gradually able to produce a more exact time-scale which is nearer realy history. Later in this section we shall see an example of the way in which this method works.

Even in Mesopotamia there is no recorded history that carries us back beyond 3000 B.C., and the calendar of Egypt—the oldest in the world—began theoretically only 4241 B.C. Fortunately, today science is in various forms beginning to come to our aid where human records fail. Physico-Chemists have dated very ancient deposits in relation to the calculable changes of solar radiation by methods far beyond the grasp of laymen.

Palæolithic Man

Scientists have been able to ascribe old stone (or "palæolithic") implements, such as have been found in West Pakistan, to a period as unbelieveably remote as half-a-million years ago. These stone implements have been discovered

particularly in the ancient "terraces" of the river Sohan or Soan, near Rawalpindi, West Punjab, but would doubtless be found elsewhere in Pakistan if search were made for them. In their simplest form they consist of roughly sharpened pebbles of quartzite, often in the form of a square-ended chopper; whilst more elaborate examples are carefully chipped all over, to form a pear-shaped "hand-axe", six inches or more in length. At present we know too little about them to say how long each type remained in use, but we must suppose that for many thousands of years men lived beside the rivers of the Punjab, gradually improving their simple equipment with a slowness and dullness beyond the credibility of an age which has passed in a few years from the bullock-cart to the jet-aeroplane! What we do know is that, during this long process of stone-age evolution, the landscape of Pakistan underwent a succession of drastic changes. Four or five times, in phases of arctic cold, snow and ice swept down on the plains in the form of great rivers or glaciers, and then, ages afterwards, withdrew once more into the Himalayas as the climate became temporarily warmer again in the so-called inter-glacial stages.

Of the men who made these "palæolithic" implements we at present know nothing. In other parts of the world, human skeletons of equivalent age have from time to time been brought to light, and no doubt in Pakistan also, when skilled search is made for them, revealing remains will be found—a human skull, or even a whole skeleton—which will enable us to reconstruct something of the appearance of these first inhabitants of Pakistan. Meanwhile we cannot guess their aspect, though we may suppose that some at least of them were very unlike ourselves. And the incompleteness of our knowledge extends also to their equipment. We know something of their stone tools or weapons because these happen to be of durable material. We know nothing of the perishable equipment of wood and bone, of skins and fibre which they may

have made with far greater elaboration. We know nothing of their religion or of their social organization, save that, on analogy, we may suppose that they lived in small scattered groups, hunting and fishing and gathering the natural fruits of the country-side, as yet without agriculture or anything approaching civilization.

Chalcolithic hill villages

When next we encounter human life in West Pakistan, agriculture has already been sufficiently developed to enable village-communities to live in the recesses of the Baluchistan hills and even on the Indus plain. Today, these villages are mostly deserted and in the form of a shapeless mound known on the North-West Frontier as a *dehri*, in Sind as a *daro*, in Baluchistan as a *dhamb*, in Persia as a *tepe*, or amongst the Arabs as a *tell*. The *tell* is an artifical mound resulting from the building and rebuilding of a town or village on the same site, each successive structure being built upon the remains of its predecessor, so that age by age the mound gradually rises upon its own dead self, sometimes to a height of 100 feet or more. The houses were of sound brick or stone, and were occasionally (perhaps usually) enclosed within a fortification. Round about were the fields and groves, and sometimes neighbouring *nalas* of stream-beds were dammed to assist irrigation. As we shall see, the climate when these villages flourished—roughly 3,000-1,000 B.C.—was considerably damper than it is today, and the large number of them in some of the main valleys implies a fairly considerable settled population.

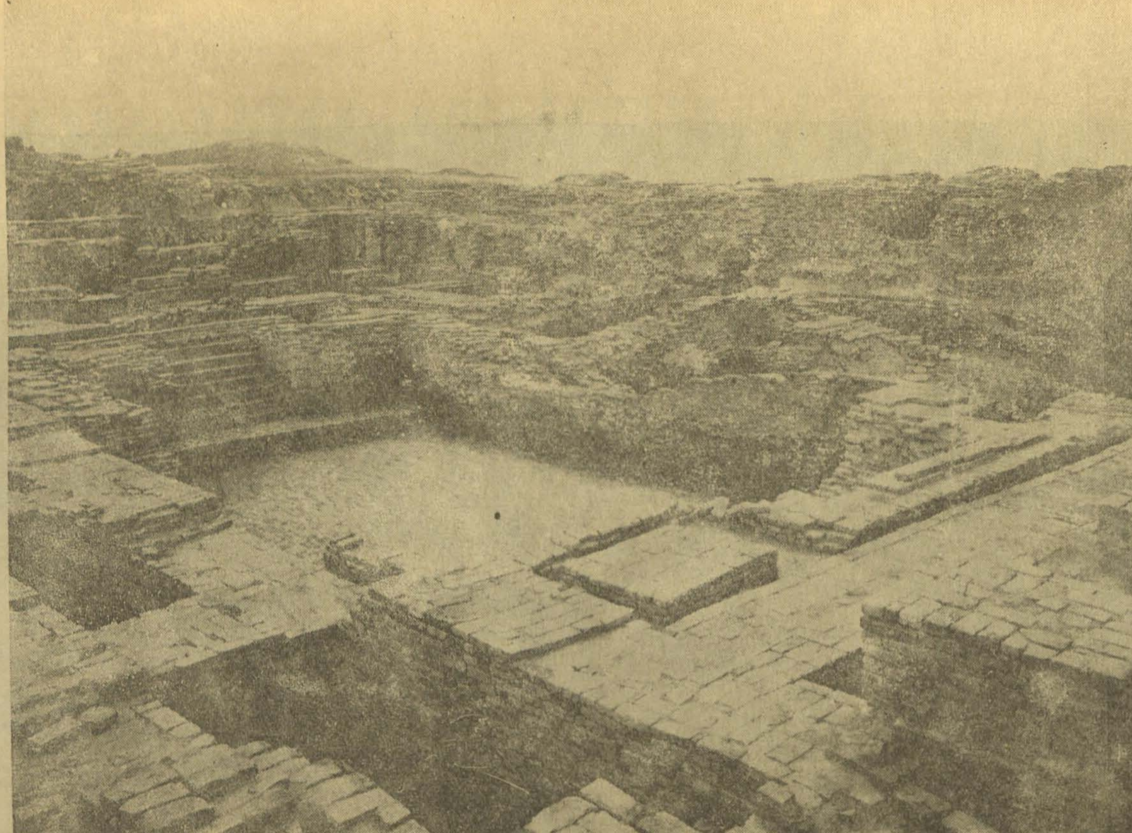
These villages represent in some measure a sort of human overflow from the Persian plateau, of which the Baluchistan hills form the eastern fringe. From this same plateau before 3000 B.C. a previous or partly contemporary overflow had descended westwards upon the receding delta of the Tigris and the Euphrates and had there constituted settlements which were to become famous as Ur or al-'Ubaid or Eridu or Susa. In

the next section we shall see how, some centuries later, something of the same sort happened in the valley of the Indus.

The exploration of these agricultural villages is still in its infancy; they present a group of important problems which await the development of Pakistan archæology. More or less isolated in their mountain valleys, they evolved and retained local arts and crafts of a bewildering diversity, and only careful exploration can sort them out in time and space. One group centres round Quetta and extends southwards towards Qalat; another extends from Amri, near Hyderabad in Sind to Nal in Baluchistan, a third is focussed on Kulli in south Baluchistan; whilst a fourth, further north, is represented by a number of *tells* in the Zhob valley of north Baluchistan. Copper or bronze implements are occasionally found in these villages, but metal was rare, and simple blades of *chert* generally sufficed. Their culture is thus often termed "chalcolithic", from two Greek words meaning "of copper and stone". Now and then, as at Nal and in the Zhob valley, beads of *lapis lazuli* indicate some slight trade with Afghanistan, and there are sporadic links with the Indus Civilization or with the lands besides the Persian Gulf. Collectively they form the introduction—and to some extent the epilogue—of the famous civilization to which we must now turn.

The Indus Civilization

The manner wherein the village life, of which we have just spoken, developed and found its fulfilment in the great Indus Valley Civilization of about 2500-1500 B.C. has not yet been determined. In Iraq (Mesopotamia) abundant exploration has given us a glimpse of the way in which the intrusive village-folk from the Persian Plateau evolved the civilization of the river-plains. Equivalent exploration in the Indus Valley will no doubt yield equivalent information there. At present, however, we are confronted with the spectacle of a civilization which is fully grown. It appears suddenly as one of the great civilizations of



The Great Bath, Mohanjodaro (Sind)



The Main Street—Mohanjodaro (2500-1500 B.C.,

the ancient world, of wider extent than the contemporary civilization either of Egypt or of Mesopotamia. For several centuries, perhaps for a millennium, it flourished, almost unchanged from age to age. Then it vanished, in circumstances which seem gradually to be becoming a little clearer to us. Let us glance at its extent and quality, and then consider its end.

About 2000 B.C. it would have been possible to travel from Sutkagen-dor, near the shores of the Arabian Sea, over 30 miles west of Karachi, to the village of Rupar near the foot of the Simla hills—a distance of 1000 miles—and to see on all sides men living in various degrees the same mode of life, making the same kind of pots and tools and ornaments, and possibly administered by the same government. It will be observed that this great stretch of country coincides very nearly with the present West Pakistan, and for a significant reason: West Pakistan, like the Indus Civilization, belongs essentially to the vast fertile valley of the Indus and its tributaries sheltered by hills, sea and desert from its less favoured neighbours, save where, in the Punjab, the northern plains continuously fringe the foot-hills of the Himalayas. The Indus Civilization can thus be claimed in a real sense as a pre-historic prototype of West Pakistan.

Within this immense territory, archæologists have found no fewer than 37 town or village-sites (*tells*) representing this civilization, and many more undoubtedly await discovery. Amongst them, two are of outstanding size: Mohenjo-daro or the "Mound of the Dead" in the Larkana district of Sind and Harappa near Montgomery in the West Punjab. These sites, each about 3 miles in circumference, are 400 miles apart, and recall to us how in the nineteenth century A. C. two Arab principalities divided the Indus between them, with capitals similarly spaced at Multan in the West Punjab and at Mansurah in Sind. But whether some 3000 years earlier Harappa and

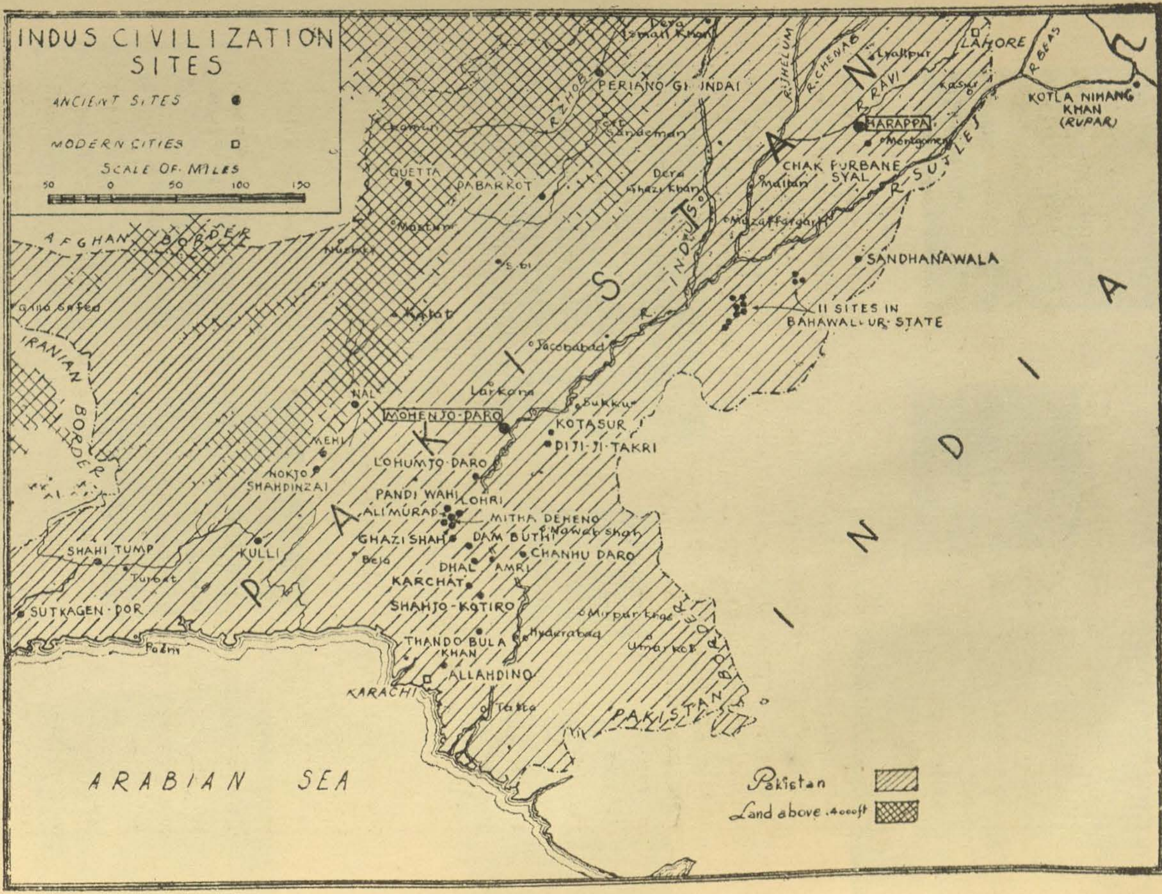
Mohenjo-daro represent an equivalent dual control or whether, behind them, was a single centralized government, we can only guess. All that we can affirm is that, in some measure or other both of these great cities must have possessed a metropolitan status.

Harapppa and Mohenjo-daro

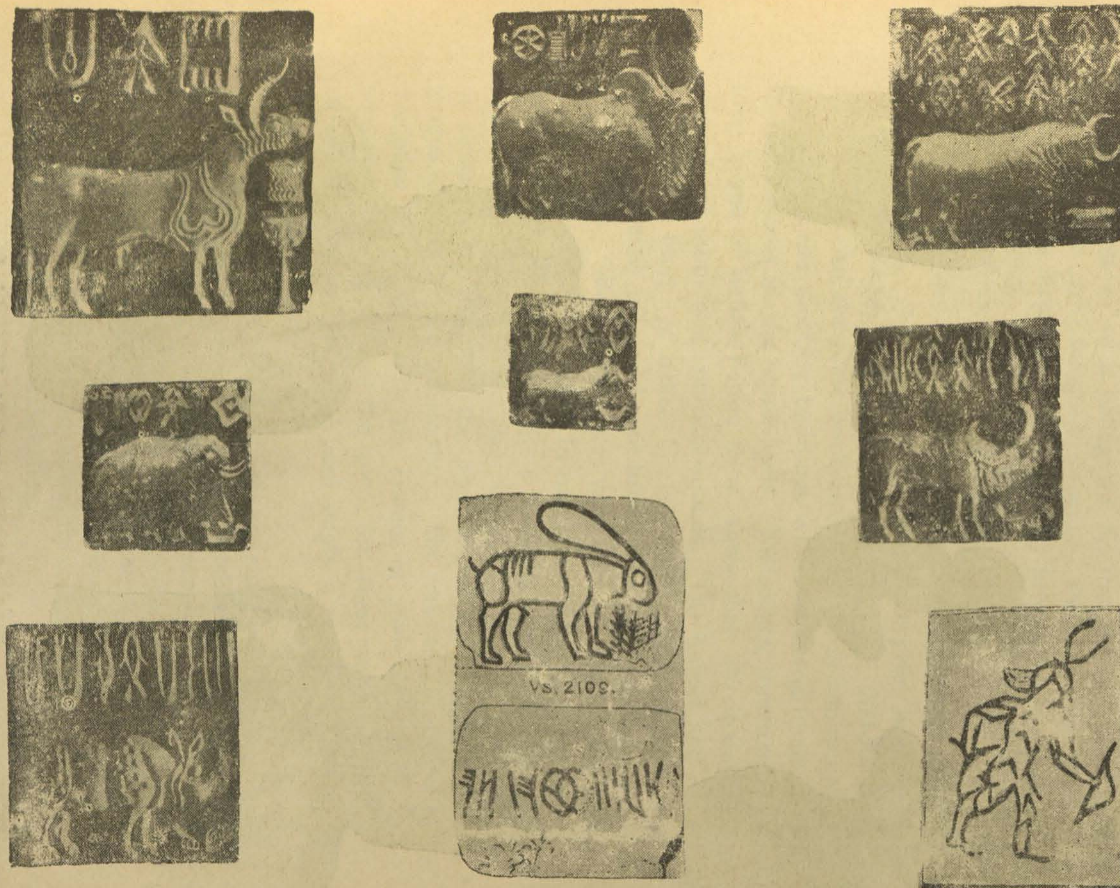
It was at one of them, Harappa, that the civilization was first revealed to modern eyes in 1921; but the site had been much despoiled in the nineteenth century, and today Mohenjo-daro, after many years of archæological excavation, is more informative to the visitor. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that Mohenjo-daro is one of the most dramatic ancient site in the world.

Today, Mohenjo-daro is a series of irregular mounds amongst sand and tamarisk-bushes dominated towards the west by a higher mound which is capped by the remains of a Buddhist stupa of the 2nd or 3rd century A. C. This dominant mound, some 400 yards from north to south and 200 yards from east to west, was the citadel and before erosion, was approximately oblong in plan. The equivalent mound at Harappa is known to have been fortified with a wide and high wall of mud-brick faced with the small backed bricks which were the normal building material of the period. The citadel of Mohenjo-daro was doubtless fortified in similar fashion; certain it is that its buildings stood (as at Harappa) high above the plain on a substructure of earth and mud-brick, so that they looked down upon the teeming city stretching eastwards to the river.

On the citadel were buildings of special distinction. Whether, as is likely enough, a temple or a place underlay the present stupa, we do not know; but nearby can be seen the well-preserved remains of a large bath of tank, which probably served a ritual purpose as do the many later tanks elsewhere in the subcontinent. Another solidly constructed building has



INDUS CIVILIZATION SITES
ANCIENT SITES
MODERN CITIES
SCALE OF MILES
50 0 50 100 150
AFGHAN BORDER
IRANIAN BORDER
PAKISTAN
INDIA
Dera Ismail Khan
PERIANO GHUNDAI
R. ZHOB
Fort Sandeman
R. JHELUM
R. CHENAB
Lyallpur
LAHORE
R. RAVI
R. BEAS
Kasur
KOTLA NIHANG KHAN (RUPAR)
HARAPPA
Montgomery
CHAK PURBANE SYAL
Multan
R. SUTLEJ
Dera Ghazi Khan
QUETTA
DABARKOT
Mastung
Muzaffargarh
R. INDUS
SANDHANAWALA
11 SITES IN BAHAWALPUR STATE
Sibi
Nushki
Qila Safed
Kalat
Jacobabad
Larkana
NAL
MOHENJO-DARO
Sukkur
KOTASUR
DIJI-JI-TAKRI
MEHI
NOKJO SHAHDINZAI
LOHUMJO-DARO
PANDI WAHI
LOHRI
ALI MURAD
MITHA DEHENO
Nawabshah
GHAZI SHAH
DAM BUTHI
CHANHU DARO
SHAHI TUMP
KULLI
Bela
DHAL
AMRI
Turbat
KARCHAT
SHAHJO-KOTIRO
SUTKAGEN-DOR
Mirpur Khas
Hyderabad
THANDO BULA KHAN
Pasni
Umarkot
ALLAHDINO
KARACHI
Tatta
PAKISTAN BORDER
ARABIAN SEA
Pakistan
Land above 4000ft



Steatite Inscribed Seals and Copper Tablets, Mohanjodaro (Sind)



Figurines and Statuettes, Mohanjodaro (Sind)

a cloistered court, and may be thought of as the residence of the high priest or of a college of priests. Further south is a large pillared hall designed obviously for ceremony or conference. It is clear that we are in the presence of some of the principal buildings of the city, where, it may be, the priest-king and his council conducted the affairs of state.

The lower city, at the foot of the citadel has a regular lay-out. Wide, straight streets divide the plan into blocks or "islands" some 400 yards in length by 200-300 yards in breadth. An elaborate brick-built drainage system drains the streets and the flanking buildings which discharge their waste through chutes in the house-walls. Man-holes, sometimes with little heaps of debris beside them, show that the drains were cleared by municipal sanitary-squads. The houses and shops are trimly built of baked bricks which where at one time wholly or partly plastered, and brick stairs lead to upper storeys of flat roofs. Wells, sometimes with steps leading to the water, occur at frequent intervals. In one quarter are regular rows of workmen's dwellings, recallings, a similar arrangement below the citadel at Harappa, where also, behind the dwellings are lines of circular platforms for the pounding of grain, and serried groups of granaries for its storage. The recurrent sense of civic discipline is manifested by the system of stone weights found here and there throughout the town; for these weights conform strictly to constant standard, and imply a regular system of inspection.

Perhaps as a reflex of this ever-present civic descipline is a certain barrack-like quality in the architecture. Its present condition is not of course fully representative ; the former plastering may sometimes have been coloured, and there may have been carved and painted wood work. Some of the furniture was inlaid with shell and faience. But even in its prime the city must have been outwardly somewhat monotonous, lacking in architectural imagination.

Not that its crafts are lacking in interest. The pottery, mostly of a rich red colour, is diversified with dark scale-pattern, intersecting circles, pipal-leaves, occasional peacocks or cattle or fish or even human beings. Necklaces and girdles of stone clay, faience or even gold beads are worn by most of the women. Little terra-cotta figurines show that women of rank and fashion wore elaborate head-dresses with wide basket like extension; and we have to remember that what may have been an extensive and elaborate cloths industry has completely perished and must remain beyond our knowledge. A comparatively simple equipment of copper or bronze knives and axes and spears, supplemented by abundant flakes of *chert*, sufficed the craftsman and the hunter in space and the soldier in war. In one category the Indus craftsmanship excelled all others of its kind, namely the production of small steatite plaques or "seals" (their exact function is unknown), bearing representations of animals or, more rarely of gods. These seals are now world-famous, and justly so. At their best, they are vividly beautiful yet restrained representations of the animals that the engraver saw about him: oxen, buffaloes, elephants, tigers, rhinoceri, crocodiles, with occasional fantastic mixtures which were probably of religious significance. Certain of the seals show a squatting three-faced and horned male god who has been regarded as a forerunner of the Hindu Shiva. This identification is likely enough; Shiva is a non-Aryan deity and may well have been adopted from the pre-Aryan religion. The bull also was clearly sacred, as in the later Hindu religion but not in that of the early Aryans—another example of absorption into the conquering faith. And a majority of the seals bear a semi-pictographic inscription in an alphabet which, like that of ancient Crete, has not yet been deciphered.

The seals have introduced us to the question of the Indus Valley religion. Up to the present, no Indus Valley temple has

been identified with certainty. Numerous terra-cotta figurines of women suggest the worship of *Mother-goddess.* There are hints also of snake-worship, and of the worship of trees, particularly the holy *pipal*, as in India today. It may be that a stone bust of a bearded man, with the shaven upper lip characteristic also of Mesopotamia and wearing a cloak decorated with inlaid trifoils, is that of a priest or even a god.

End of the Indus Civilization

How and when did this Indus Civilization live, and how did it die? It lived primarily by agriculture in an age when agriculture in the Indus Valley must have been easier than it is today. The marsh and jungle animals on the seals mentioned above indicate a landscape very different from the dusty scene that now surrounds the site. The millions of baked bricks used in these Indus cities presuppose not only a climate too rainy for the general use of unbacked mud-bricks, but also vast quantities of wood-fuel for their baking. From remains found during the excavations, we know that in fact wheat, barley, sesame, field-peas and a species of *rai* were freely grown and that even cotton was either grown or traded. Of commercial contact with the outside world there is not much evidence, although a part of what there is has a bearing upon our second question: when did this civilization flourish?

In the protohistoric cities of Mesopotamia, archæologists have from time to time found seals, inlays and pottery of the distinctive Indus Valley types in deposits of known data. Most of these deposits are of about 2300 B.C.; others may be later, one or two may be a little earlier. It is evident, therefore, that the Indus Civilization was flourishing at least three centuries before and probably somewhat after 2000 B. C. Other evidence (notably, certain pins and a type of "segmented" faience bead) makes it pretty clear that the civilization lasted in fact well into the 2nd millennium and carries us to the threshold of the

Aryan invasions. This brings us to our last question: how did the Indus Civilization end?

On this point there is a growing consesus of evidence and inference. The *Rigveda*, which was first committed to writing in modern times, can be referred back to the twelfth century B.C. or beyond, in the form of a reliable verbal transmissions. It represents from the Aryan point of view and in the vague way of a hieratic hymnal the conditions of the invasion of the Punjab by the earliest wave. These vedic hymns make it clear that the mobile, city-less invaders differed at every point from the long-static citizens whom they invaded. The term used for the cities of the aborigines is *pur*, meaning a "fort" or "stronghold". *Indra*, the Aryan war-god, is *puravindara*, "fort-destroyer", he "rends forts as age consumes garment".

Where are—or were—these native citadels? The Indus Valley Civilization was, in the sense of the *Rigveda*, "aboriginal". It was essentially of non-Aryan type. It had dominated the river system of West Pakistan long before the Aryan invasion. What then destroyed this firmly settled civilization? Climatic, economic and political determination may have weakened it, but its ultimate extinction is more likely to have been completed by deliberate and large-scale destruction. It is now generally accepted that the Indus cities were, in fact, those referred to in the *Rigveda*, and that they were destroyed by Aryan invaders in or about the fifteenth century B.C.

This chapter has been concerned solely with West Pakistan. In East Pakistan we have at present no palæolithic or chalcolithic epochs upon which to draw

CHAPTER IV

THE ARYANS

The Aryans enter the Subcontinent

They Aryans were a pastoral people divided into tribes. They had wandered out of their original habitat, which is still a subject of controversy, in search of new pasture lands. In their wanderings different tribes entered different countries. They took their language with them, the traces of which are found in a number of important tongues. For instance, 'Father' in English is 'Pitri' in Sanskrit, 'Pidar' in Persian, 'Patir' in Greek and 'Pater' in Latin. In fact, these languages have developed from one common origin and from one group, known as the Indo-European family of languages. All the principal languages of Pakistan and northern Bharat belong to this group. The discovery of this languages-family in the nineteenth century was a land-mark in our knowledge of the history of the Aryans.

In about 1400 B. C. we stumble upon the Aryans in Asia Minor. At Boghaz-koi a record of this time bears the names of Aryan gods—*Indra, Varuna* and *Mitra.* In Iran the Aryans lived for a considerable time before a section of them moved on to Hind-Pakistan through the passes of the north-west. The very names Iran and Aryavarta are different forms of the same word. There appear to have been a series of invasions of the subcontinent by Aryan hordes who after ceaseless fighting took possession of this land. Their advent opens up a new age for Hind-Pakistan, and their exploits are recounted in their books—the *Vedas*, the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Epics.*

Rig Vedic Age

The *Vedas* are the sacred books of the Aryans. They are four in number: the *Rig-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, the *Sama-Veda*, and the *Atharva-Veda.* The earliest of them is the *Rig-Veda.* It is a collection of

hymns in praise of Aryan gods representing compositions of different periods, ranging roughly from 1500 to 1000 B.C.

The hymns of the *Rig-Veda* seem to have been composed in *Sapta-Sindhava,* the country watered by the seven sacred rivers of the Indus basin—the *Kubha* (Kabul), the *Suvastu* (Swat), the *Vitasta* (Jhelum), the *Asikni* (Chenab), the *Parushni* or *Iravati* (Ravi), the *Vipash* (Beas) and the *Shutudri* (Sutlej). The major portion of this area is included in West Pakistan.

The Aryan tribes often fought among themselves as well as against the older inhabitants. They fought on foot or on chariots drawn by horses. Coats of mail and helmets of metal were used for protection on the battle-field. The principal weapons were the bow and arrow, spear, lance, axe, sword and slingstone. The warriors fought to the accompaniment of war-cries and the music of drums.

Peaceful avocations included cattle-breeding, agriculture and hunting. They had many domesticated animals: horses, sheep, goats, dogs, asses and cattle. Barley and rice were their main crops; cultivation was done by plough drawn by oxen. They also had carpenters, goldsmiths, metal-workers and tanners. Weaving of cloth and sewing and plaiting of mats were the main occupations of the women.

The Aryans gradually settled down in villages. The family was the unit of society; a number of families, connected by ties of kinship, lived in a village called a *gram,* and a few such villages composed the clan, called a *vish.* A group of clans made up the tribe known as *jan.* Each tribe had its own chieftain who led it in battle and ensured its protection. During peace-time he dispensed justice and performed religious sacrifices. He was assisted in his work by the *purohita* (priest) *senani* (leader of the fighting force) and *gramani* (village headman). The people seem to have gathered occasionally in assemblies which have been referred to as *Sabha* and *Samiti.*

The Aryan society was patriarchal—the father being the head of the family. The Aryans observed no restrictions in diet. They took both vegetables and meat, beef not excepted. Milk and its preparations such as *ghee* and *dahi* (curd) were in use. *Soma* and *Sura* were their spirituous drinks. Music and dancing, chariot racing and gambling formed their amusements. They were fond of jewellery. They buried their dead but cremation was also coming into vogue.

The Rig-Vedic religion inculcates worship of the personifications of various natural phenomena. In these personifications we meet with a number of gods that form the Rig-Vedic pantheon. They may be classed as (1) terrestrial gods, like *Prithvi* (the earth), *Soma* (fire), (2) atmospheric gods, like *Indra* (rain), *Vayu* (air), (3) heavenly gods, like *Varuna* (sky) and *Surya* (sun). Some of them were patrons of certain human activities, for instance, *Indra* was the god of war. These gods were propitiated by prayers, by offerings of milk, grain, ghee, and *Soma* and by sacrifices of animals.

The Aryans move inwards

The *Rig-Veda* depicts the life of the Aryans in their first stage of settlement in this subcontinent. The information about the next stage is contained in the three *Vedas*, the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*. This period comes down to about 600 B.C.

During this age the Aryan civilization gradually extended towards the east. The Indus basin, the home of the Rig-vedic tribes, loses its importance. The focus of culture is Kurukshetra; and Madhyadesh, the land of the Jumna and the Ganges, comes into prominence. Koshal (Oudh), Kashi (Banaras) and Videh (north Behar) rise as great Aryan centres in the east. In the south, the boundary, is marked by the Vindhyas. This inward movement of the Aryans is described in the story of *Mathav* the Videgh, who went along with his priest from the land of *Saraswati* (i.e. East Punjab) to Videh after crossing the *Sadanira* (river Gandak), which formed the eastern boundary of Koshal. Beyond this river *Agni* (sacrificial

fire) did not burn over the country which means that it did not then come within pale of Aryanism.

The tribes that come into prominence are the *Kurus* and *Panchals*, whose capitals—Asandivat and Kampilya—have grown into cities. The kingdoms of Koshal, Kashi and Videh come into existence and gradually achieve prominence. The king assumes greater power and his sacrifices increase in number, magnitude and complexity. The people were divided into hereditary groups in accordance with their professions. Besides gold, the use of which was already known, they now learn the use of iron, copper, tin, lead and silver.

In religion the Vedic pantheon remained more or less unchanged. Non-Aryan influence, however, can be traced in the addition of *Rudra*, a form of *Shiva.* The spirit of the religion also underwent a change. On the one hand sacrificial rites and formulate became more complex, which brought into prominence a class of people known as Brahmins, who were well-versed in sacrificial rites and on the other beginnings were made in philosophical speculation which later found expression in the *Upanishads*.

War against the ancient inhabitants

The ancient inhabitants, with whom the Aryans had to contend in the Indus basin, are referred to with hatred and contempt as *Dasyus* or *Dasas* in their scriptures. This was the result of racial animosity and continuous fighting. The Aryans were tall and fair, and the *Dasyus* are described as dark-skinned and of short stature with uncouth features and flat noses. The *Vedas* also revile them for not believing in Aryan gods and for following a different religion. Economic reasons made this racial struggle more bitter. The *Dasyus* were already in occupation of the land over which the Aryans were seeking to establish their domination. The *Dasyus* fought valiantly in defence of their homes and herds of cattle and yielded to the superior might of the Aryans only when the destruction of

their fortified towns made resistance futile. The vanquished *Dasyus* were enslaved and absorbed in the Aryan society as *Shudras* and outcastes. The superior culture of the conquered, however, affected Aryan civilization very deeply. The non-Aryan influence gradually gained ground until it became almost predominent in popular belief and worship. For this change we have to see the epics—the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana.*

The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*

The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* are the great epics of the Hindus. They contain tales of great variety: religious and historical, didactic and mythological. The *Mahabharata* tells the story of the war fought at Kurukshetra between the *Pandavas* and their cousins the *Kauravas.* The *Ramayana* deals with Rama and Sita both being idealistically conceived. The part played by *Hanuman*, the monkey-god, is interpreted to mean that certain non-Aryan tribes sided with the Aryans. Non-Aryan elements, like the cults of *Shiva*, *Ganesha* and *Durga*, were incorporated in the Aryan religion, with the result that the Vedic gods lost their importance and the tribal heroes like Rama and Krishna were deified and identified with *Vishnu*, a form of Sun-god, on the basis of the theory of incarnation. Herein for the first time we see a new religion, called Brahminism, taking shape.

The following is in outline the story of the *Mahabharata:* Vichitra-Virya was the great ruler of the *Kaurava* tribe. On his death his younger son, Pandava, succeeded him, as the elder Dhritrashtra was born blind; but within a short time, owing to Pandava's premature death, Dhritrashtra himself had to assume the reins of government. Pandava had left behind five sons who were called *Pandavas*, while Dhritrashtra had one hundred sons, known as *Kauravas.* Dhritrashtra, being fond of his nephew, Yudhishthira, a man of rare virtue, nominated him heir-apparent. This aroused the jealousy of his eldest son, Duryodhana, who

by his intrigues compelled the *Pandavas* to leave the capital. During their wanderings they went to Panchal, where Arjuna, one of the *Pandavas* won the King's daughter, Draupadi, for himself and his brothers. The alliance of the *Pandavas* with the *Panchalas* proved a turning point in their fortunes. In order to bring about conciliation Dhritrashtra divided his kingdom, giving to his sons Hastinapur, and to his nephews a region of which Indraprastha became the capital. But here too the *Pandavas* were not allowed to reign in peace. Duryodana lured Yudhisthira to play with him a game of dice, in which the latter lost everything including his Kingdom and wife and had to go into exile for twelve years. In the forest the *Pandavas* fought many battles with the non-Aryan tribes. At the expiry of the period of their exile they tried to get back their kingdom but all their peaceful efforts were useless. At last war broke out between the *Pandavas* and the *Kauravas*, with a number of allies on either side. The battle took place at Kurukshetra and continued for eighteen days. In the end the *Pandavas* were victorious and Yudhishthira became king.

Arjuna, one of the Pandava brothers, was guided by Krishna on the battle-field. The advice given by Krishna to Arjuna is incorporated in the *Bhagvada Gita*, a book of philosophical and moral teachings. The *Mahabharata* also throws interesting light on the social customs of the period; for instance, it shows that polyandary was practised and that maidens of noble birth were given in marriage after the ceremony of *swayamvara*, where all the candidates for the bride's hand assembled so that she might choose one of them.

Briefly the story of the *Ramayana* is as follows:—

There was a king of Ayodhya named Dashratha, who had a son, Rama, by Kaushalya. After the young prince was married to Sita, the daughter of King Janaka of Videha, his

father expressed a desire to make him the heir-apparent. This announcement evoked universal joy, but it was soon turned into sorrow, when his step-mother, Kaikeyi, demanded that Rama should be immediately sent into exile for fourteen years and that her own son, Bharata, should be declared heir to the throne. Accordingly Rama went into exile, accompanied by his devoted wife, Sita, and his third brother Lakshmana. In the forest Rama and Lakshamana waged war against many non-Aryan tribes, represented in the *Ramayana* as demons. At last Ravana, a non-Aryan chief, stole away Sita to his native place, Lanka. Rama and Lakshmana were greatly aggrieved and went out in search of her. They made an alliance with the monkey-god, *Hanuman*, and invaded Lanka. Ravana was defeated and Sita was recovered. At the end of fourteen years the two brothers and Sita returned to Ayodhya.

Some historians are of the opinion that the Aryans penetrated into the southern-most region of India where they met with great resistance from the ancient inhabitants, whom in their hatred they called *Rakshasas* or demons. The part played by *Hanuman* is interpreted as the growth of alliance between the Aryans and certain non-Aryan tribes.

It is difficult to fix the dates of these epics. Many of these tales appear as early as 100 B.C. which is the period of later Vedic literature. Vyas and Valmiki are popularly believed to be the respective authors of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. In fact, however, the composition of the *Ramayana* took place between 500 and 200 B.C. while the *Mahabharata* was compiled between 400 B.C. and 400 A.C.

The Caste System

Hindu society is divided into four sections called castes. At the tope of the social heirarchy are the Brahmins, who are the priestly class. The *Kshatriyas* come next as rulers and warriors. The *Vaishyas* are merchants and agriculturists. The lowest are the *Shudras*, the servile caste. Outside the pale of the castes are the

untouchables who are the descendants of the non-Aryans who were reduced to slavery and entrusted with unclean and menial work. The castes are further sub-divided into sub-castes, and there are elaborate rules regarding social behaviour which depend upon birth; for instance, a man cannot change his caste by the change of his profession, he must marry only within his particular sub-caste and can eat only with the people of his own caste.

The caste system seems to have grown out of the colour discrimination between the Aryans and the *Dasyus*. The Sanskrit word '*varana*' which is used for caste, really means colour. We find that the conquered '*Dasyus*' were enslaved wholesale. Towards the later part of the Rig-Vedic age a sence of cosmic order was dawning upon the Aryans and a myth was created to explain the structure of society as it then existed. A belief was developed that the Brahmins were born out of the mouth, the *Rajanyas* (*Kshatriyas*) out of the arms, the *Vaishyas* out of the things and the *Shudras* out of the feet of *Brahma*, the Creator. In the beginning there was no rigidity in the caste system, except that the non-Aryans were ranked as *Shudras;* but later this division became a cardinal principle of Hindu society and was universally accepted. In the course of time Aryan society became more complex and craft became more or less hereditary. As Aryan penetration inward brought the conquerors into contact with non-Aryan population in overwhelming numbers the consciousness of Aryan superiority and of the need of preserving it grew stronger. The idea of heredity from now on assumed great importance.

Some Hindus attribute the preservation of their culture and civilisation through the ages to the caste system and further claim that it has given contentment to the people in general and encouraged corporate life. But in fact this contentment is born of fatalism, a characteristic of agricultural society,

which has reconciled the people to the tyranny of the caste system. It has created exclusiveness and weakened the human desire for progress. It has hindered the growth of sympathy and cooperation between different sections of the population, has branded human beings as high and low and prevented the development of a sense of human equality.

CHAPTER V

JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

In course of ages the simple cult of the Vedic Aryans developed into a religion of animal sacrifices and complicated rites. It created a society dominated by the caste system and a philosophy owning the *Vedas* as the final authority and giving to the Brahmins alone the right of attaining supreme knowledge. The pre-eminent position of the Brahmins produced a reaction in the sixth century B.C. which resulted in opposition to ritualism and a greater emphasis on mediation and spiritual attainment. This tendency is also noticeable in the *Upanishads*. Later, people came to believe in the sanctity of life, and kindness to animals became a cardinal principle of faith. This new idea was put forth by Jainism and Buddhism—religions that were sponsored by two Kshatriya princes, Mahavira the Jina and Siddhartha the Buddha. They both challenged the *Kshatriyas*. They did not accept the authority of the *Vedas* and preached new codes of human conduct and new philosophies of life. These faiths laid stress on action and opened the doors of salvation for all human beings. This equality of opportunity for attaining salvation cut at the very root of the caste system.

Jainism

Jainism is a religion known after Jina, the conqueror. He was the conqueror of the self, and not of any wordly territory, and hence bore the title of Mahavira, the great hero. His real name was Vardhamana. His followers, the Jains, call him Tirthankara (one who helps people to cross this wordly ocean) of their religion. He was not the first Tirthankara but twenty-fourth in the list—hence he was not the founder but only a reformer of the Jain religion.

The first twenty-two Tirthankaras are not historical personages. Something is known about the twenty-third. His

name was Parshvanath and he was born at Banaras about 250 years before Vardhamana Mahavira. His father, Ashvasena, besides being a great warrior was a man given to serious thinking. He soon wearied of wordly pursuits, and at the age of thirty renounced his kingdom to seek salvation. He practised austere penance for eighty-four days and at the end gained supreme knowledge, which the Jains call *Kaivalya*. This consisted in the observance of four vows: not to take life, not to lie, not to steal and not to own property. Parshvanath preached this doctrine to the people for seventy years and died at the age of a hundred. Modern historians regard him as the real founder of Jainism.

The Jains claim that in the course of 250 years, after the death of Parshvanath, the followers of the Tirthankaras grew corrupt, and in order to set them right Vardhamana was born in their midst as their last and most important reformer.

According to Jain sources Vardhamana was the youngest son of Siddhartha, chief of the *Nat* clan of *Kshatriyas*, and a follower of Parshvanath. His mother was Trishala, sister of the *Lichhavi* chieftain of Vaishali in north Behar, he was born at Kundgram, a suburb of Vaishali, in the year 599 B.C. After attaining manhood he was married to a girl named Yashoda, and a daughter was born to them. But he had no interest in wordly affairs and in his thirtieth year, after the death of his parents, he left his home and began to lead the life of a wandering monk. As his father was a follower of Parshvanath he was initiated into his faith, but his longing for renunciation made him roam from place to place and practise penance and meditation for twelve years. In this state of self-abnegation he moved about absolutely naked. In the thirteenth year, supreme knowledge dawned upon him while he was seated completely lost in thought under the shade of a *saal* tree at Trimbhakgram, near Parasnath hills. With the attainment of this knowledge he became the *Jina*, 'The conqueror', and henceforth was called Mahavira, the great hero, and *Arhat* worthy of veneration.

He came to realise the existence of *Jiva* (life) in all nature—even in things which seem to be inanimate. No animal, therefore, should be killed or injured. The *Jiva* develops attachment for the world through its actions which go on accumulating and do not end even with death. The *Jiva* is re-born either as man or some other animal. This chain of death and re-birth can be ended only by abstention from action. Hence there should be no possession of property. He who has no stake in life will not think of action. Passion must be controlled by absolute chastity and the tongue prevented from speaking any falsehood. Only then is the *Karma* under control. Its total suppression is the real conquest. This can be achieved by penance or even by fasting unto death.

The whole teaching of Mahavira can be summed up in the discipline of non-possession, non-stealing and absolute chastity. This last was his own contribution.

Equipped with supreme knowledge Mahavira began to preach his gospel. His first sermon was on the great vows and his first disciple was Gautama Indrabhuti. He began by preaching to the rich and artistocratic classes, and though his followers today are to be found mainly amongst the middle classes, his earliest supporters seem to have been rulers and chieftains, This may have been due to their dislike of Brahmin pretensions and their satisfaction at one of their own kinsfolk leading a revolt against them. The Jains claim that in thirty years Mahavira converted Magadha and many other powerful States in north India. After achieving this he died at Pava, modern Pavapuri, in Patna district, in 527 B.C., when he was 72 years old.

Jainism has survived in India in spite of Brahmin opposition. The credit for its survival goes to the organisation that Mahavira gave to his religion. He attracted a large number of disciples and established among them the four orders of his



Close view of Seated Dhyani Buddha Figure in Meditation-Jaulian, Near Taxila

community: monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. In this organization the monks and the nuns occupied an important place. The third order consisted of laymen; these were house holders who could not actually renounce the world, but followed his principles in a modified form, while their alms supported the monks. The fourth and last order consisted of devout laywomen whose household duties prevented them from becoming nuns, and who yet served the cause in many ways.

This community was later divided into two main sects: *Shvetambara*—those who wear white cloth—and *Digambara*—those who remained absolutely naked.

Buddha and the rise of Buddhism

Buddhism also is the result of a revolt against caste and Brahmin claims. It derives its name from its founder, Buddha, the enlightened one. His real name was Siddhartha; Buddha was only his title, given in recognition of the supreme knowledge (*Bodhi*) that he attained. Before this discovery he was only a *Bodhi-Sattava* (one who is in pursuit of *Bodhi*).

Siddhartha was born in the *Shakya* clan of the *Kshatriyas* in the year 567 B. C. His father Shuddhodhana was the ruler of Kapilavastu, a small principality in the Nepal Terai. His family bore the surname of Gautama. His mother, Mahamaya, was travelling to the home of her parents when on the way, in Lumbini garden, outside the town of Kapilavastu, Siddhartha was born. At his birth the astrologers predicted that he would become a great religious seer. The father, fearing that the son might renounce the world and take to the life of a wandering monk, arranged to bring him up in luxury and pleasure. At a young age he was married to a beautiful princess, Yashodhara, by whom he had a son. During one of his pleasure trips he happened to see for the first time an old man, a sick man, a dead body and a monk. On enquiry he was told that those were common manifestations of life. All men have to become old or sick and then meet death. The sight of these things

convinced Siddhartha of the co-existence of sorrow and pain with life, and his mind turned to searching a way out of it. He resolved to renounce the world and follow the life of a monk in order to achieve his object.

One night, when he was twenty-nine while his wife and child were fast asleep, he stole away from his palace into the forest, and after changing his dress and cutting his hair, wandered about in the garb of a monk. He reached the neighbourhood of Rajgriha, then the capital of Magadha, where he became a disciple of two famous monks. But their teachings about God did not satisfy him, so he went to Uruvel (near modern Bodhgaya) and took to severe penance. Five disciples followed him. His austerities which continued for six long years, reduced him to a mere skeleton. But the goal of supreme knowledge was still far from him. His faith in the method of severe penance was now shaken. Because of this change the five disciples deserted him. But Siddhartha did not lose courage; he tried another method of mental discipline and meditation, sustaining life on milk offered by a girl named Sujata. At last one night while he sat in meditation under a *pipal* tree truth slowly dawned upon him. The *Bodhi-Sattava* became the Buddha.

With the attainment of supreme knowledge Buddha resolved to mitigate the sorrows of this world by leading men to the path of salvation. He came to Sarnath and preached his first sermons to the five disciples who had deserted him. They repented and were converted to his views. For the next forty-five years Buddha worked amongst his people wandering from place to place. He preached to them in the vernacular, and won their hearts by his teachings, kindness, moral grandeur and deep sympathy. Princes and peasants, all extended their support to him, and within a short time the community of his disciples grew into a mighty and disciplined organisation, known as the *Sangha*. With this final achievement, Buddha's end drew near and he died at Kushinagara in 487 B.C.

After Buddha's death his disciples called a council at Rajgriha, and in order to preserve the words and actions of their master, they resolved to commit them to writing. These works took the form of *Tripatakas* (three baskets) and the *Jatkas* (birth stories) of Buddha. This community of monks propagated the teachings of their master among the people in their humble way till Ashoka, the Maurya king, was converted to Buddhism and raised it to the status of an international religion. It later found favour among rulers of the invading dynasties, amongst whom the greatest was Kanishka, the Kushana Emperor. The religion of Buddha, which originated in Behar, now spread beyond this subcontinent into Central Asia. Tibet, China, Burma and the Far East. When royal patronage was withdrawn, Brahmin opposition increased and Buddhism was driven out of the land of its birth by prolonged and systematic persecution. Now it has its adherents in the south-east portion of East Pakistan, Ceylon, Tibet, China, Burma and the Far East.

Main Teachings

The message of Buddha was very simple. As he had been disappointed with the abstruse teachings of the monks at Rajgriha, he did not concern himself with philosophical discussions about the existence of God. The subject of his teachings was life in this world, which is full of sorrow and suffering. The cause of sorrow is desire and its annihilation is the surest means of ending unhappiness. Death is no escape as it leads to re-birth and further suffering. Severe austerity is deprecated for this reason, and in this the Buddhists, differ from the Jains. Desire can be controlled through the eight-fold noble path consisting of (1) right belief, (2) right thought, (3) right speech, (4) right action, (5) right means of livelihood, (6) right endeavour, (7) right recollection, and (8) right meditation. The Buddha calls this the *Middle Path*, as it avoids both the extremes of gross luxury and grim austerity. This path

can be followed even by those who cannot give up their worldly pursuits. For the members of the *Sangha* it is obligatory to strive for *Nirvana*, the extinction of personality. For them ten commandments are laid down:—

(1) not to covet property belonging to others;
(2) not to kill;
(3) not to use intoxicants;
(4) not to tell lies;
(5) not to commit adultery;
(6) not to take part in singing and dancing;
(7) not to use unguents, flowers or perfumes;
(8) not to eat at odd hours;
(9) not to sleep on comfortable beds; and
(10) not to accept or keep money.

This is the message of Buddha. It is a severely practical code of conduct and there is no place for philosophical speculation or grim austerity. This message was meant for all irrespective of sex, age or position in society.

CHAPTER VI

THE PERSIANS AND THE GREEKS

Far back in prehistoric times the small and diverse communities of the Iranian plateau had found outlets through the Baluch hills to the broad fertile valley of the Indus and its tributaries. These highland communities contributed to the make-up of the great Indus Civilization which flourished between 2500 and 1500 B.C.; and that civilization was in turn, it seems, broken up by Aryan invaders whose name still lives in the word "Iran". This arrival, probably about the fifteenth century B.C., ended one epoch and began another. It ended an ancient civilization which was by now, to judge from its excavated remains, becoming effete, and it introduced the rule of vigorous barbarians who yet carried with them the seeds of future greatness. The invaders appear to have mingled with the conquered and thus to have evolved a culture combining both Aryan and non-Aryan elements. During the thousand years following the invasions a considerable body of religious and heroic poetry, orally transmitted from generation to generation, reflects this complex culture and, in a vague unhistorical way, some of the episodes that accompanied its making.

Persian Conquest

But not until after 520 B.C. does the land that is now West Pakistan enter contemporary written record, and it is Persia that provides the context. In or about that year, Daruis the "Great King" of Persia had inscribed upon the face of a high cliff near Kermanshah in western Iran the famous multilingual "Bahistan Inscription", which, beside a carved representation of the King himself and an array of prisoners, sets forth a list of the twenty-three provinces of his kingdom. India or "Hindu", the ancient name derived from the river Indus, the Sanskrit *Sindhu*, is omitted and presumably, therefore, had

not then been subjugated. On the other hand, inscriptions built into the platform of the royal palace at Persepolis, in southern Persia between 518 and 515 B.C., include "Hindu", as does an inscription which was cut on the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis some time after 515 B.C. It may be inferred, therefore, that the Indus region was incorporated in the Persian Empire between 520 and 515 B.C.

The new province of the Indus was a rich one. The Greek historian Herodotus records that "The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people that we know and they pay a tribute proportionately larger than the rest—360 talents of gold dust" (more than a crore of rupees). In accordance with Persian practice, the government of the province would be in the hands of a "*satrap*" or governor, but local chiefs were retained in a subordinate capacity. Money, of gold and silver, bore the image of the Great King, who is represented as hastening through his dominions armed with bow and spear; but here, too, local customs was tolerated, and strips of silver stamped with a variety of local devices were likewise used as currency. Official business was transacted in script known as *Kharoshthhi* derived from the Aramaic script of Persia and used subsequently for some of the famous edicts of Ashoka.

Alexander

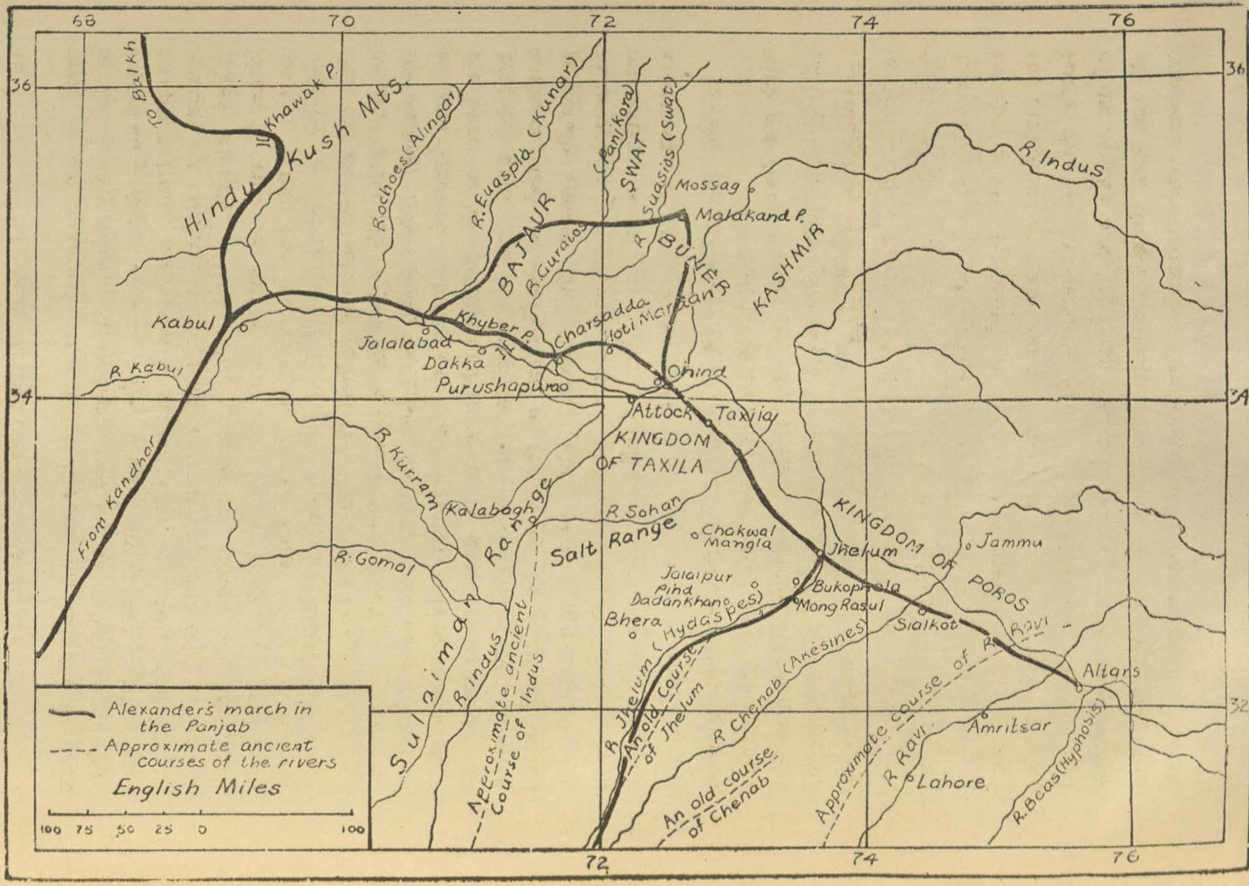
In the year 480 B.C., the armed might of Persia, including Indian cavalry and infantry clad in garments of cotton cloth and equipped with iron-tipped arrows, was led westwards by King Xerxes to conquer the Hellenic world. The defeat of this vast host by the Greeks belongs to western history, but is of interest in the present context because it marks the beginning of the decline of Persian power. Exactly a century and a half later the Greeks in their turn had invaded the Persian Empire, the palace of Persepolis was in flames, and the last Darius lay dead by the wayside. The Greek leader, Alexander, king of

Macedon, assumed the domination of the Great King and set out from the Persian capital to establish his authority over the ultimate provinces of his new kingdom. By the end of 327 B.C. his troops had entered the plain of Peshawar and occupied the local metropolis, Pushkalavati, now represented by a formidable group of mounds near Charsadda, 18 miles north-east of the modern city. A few months later, the Greek invader had assembled his army upon the banks of the Indus, a few miles above the present crossing at Attock. We are fortunate in the possession of contemporary Greek accounts of the scene. We are told how a timber bridge was built for Alexander across the river, and how two thirty-oared galleys and a fleet of native craft were present to assist in the ferrying. And we are also told how at this moment an embassy arrived with some 10,000 sheep and cattle and 30 elephants as a peace-offering from Ambhi, king of Takshasila or Taxila, whose city lay 40 miles away on the route into India. Then and there, the Macedonian offered thanksgiving to his gods and arranged a festival for his war-worn troops. For Taxila was "the greatest of all cities between the Indus and the *Hydaspes*" (i.e. the Jhelum), and its easy surrender offered a welcome respite for the next stage of his advance. Of his subsequent reception by King Ambhi at Taxila several stories have come down to us, and archaeological exploration has added to the vividness of the picture. Today the visitor to the Bhir Mound at Taxila can wander once more amongst some of the streets which may have greeted the eyes of Alexander and his men. The town was a warren of contiguous houses and shops built of unsquared blocks of limestone with an infilling of stone chips and mud. Sometimes the walls were plastered over, but of architectural ornament there was little to be seen. Outside the town, kites and vultures hovered over the place where the dead were exposed after the Persian manner, and we are told that *sati* or widow-sacrifice was in vogue. But perhaps the most interesting

detail is the recorded presence of certain ascetic philosophers in the vicinity whom Alexander, with his quest for knowledge, expressed a desire to see. His Greek envoy met with a cool reception from the Indian sages. One of them told him to remove his clothes and approach with due humility. Another asked bluntly, "Why has Alexander come all this way hither?" with the implication that he certainly had not been invited. Only the intervention of the King of Taxila himself induced one of them to approach Alexander, with such effect that the ascetic actually joined the Greek entourage where he became a notable figure as Kalanos, "the Lucky". Later on, the manner of his death increased his fame. In Persia, whether he accompanied Alexander, he suddenly announced that the hour of his death had arrived. A great pyre, laden with precious gifts, was prepared for him, and amidst the sound of trumpets and the battle-cries of the army, he perished seated peacefully amidst the flames. The whole episode of the philosophers is told with much circumstantial detail and is an interesting proof of the established position of Indian asceticism at this early date.

Battle with Poros

From Taxila, Alexander advanced south-westwards against the neighbouring king, who rules the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab and is known to us only as "Poros", i.e. "chief of the *Purus*", a tribe mentioned in the *Vedas*. The army of Poros, some 30,000 infantry with chariots and elephants, presented an impenetrable front on the further side of the river, which was in flood. Eventually it was outflanked by a Greek division which, under the immediate command of Alexander himself, secretly crossed the tumultuous stream some 17 miles to a flank. In the ensuing battle the two outstanding figures were Alexander at the head of his cavalry and the huge and courageous Poros who, when all was lost, fought on from the back of his elephant and received nine wounds. Weakened and parched with thirst,



68
70
72
74
76
36
34
32
To Bulkh
Khawak P.
Hindu Kush Mts.
Rochoes (Alingar)
R. Euaspla (Kunar)
(Panjkora)
SWAT
Suasids (Swat)
Mossag
Malakand P.
R. Indus
BAJAUR
B. Guraios
BUNER
KASHMIR
Kabul
Khyber P.
Charsadda
Hoti Mardan
Jalalabad
Dakka
R. Kabul
Ohind
Purushapura
Attock
Taxila
KINGDOM
OF TAXILA
R. Kurram
From Kandhar
Kalabagh
R. Sohan
Salt Range
Chakwal
Mangla
KINGDOM OF POROS
Jammu
R. Gomal
Jhelum
Jalalpur
Pind
Dadankhan
Bukophala
Mong Rasul
Bhera
R. Jhelum (Hydaspes)
Sialkot
R. Ravi
Altars
Sulaiman Range
R. Indus
Approximate ancient Course of Indus
An old course of Jhelum
R. Chenab (Akesines)
Approximate course of R. Ravi
Amritsar
R. Beas (Hyphasis)
An old course of Chenab
Lahore
Alexander's march in the Panjab
Approximate ancient courses of the rivers
English Miles
100 75 50 25 0 100

he was at last induced to surrender. Alexander asked him what treatment he expected, and Poros answered, "Act as a king". Alexander demanded of him what he meant, and Poros replied "When I said 'as a king' everything was included in that". The upshot was that Poros was reinstated under the general suzerainty of the Greeks, and served the Macedonian a while as a respected ally.

Alexander's return

After the great battle of the Jhelum, a series of minor engagements brought the Greek army to the river Beas, the *Hyphasis* of the Greeks. On its banks the army struck; not even Alexander would the battle-weary soldiery follow further from its distant homes. The Macedonian had twelve great altars built and offered sacrifice. Then, about the end of July, 326 B.C., he turned in his tracks, appointing Poros as his local viceroy and founding on his way a small city of veterans as was his wont, to anchor his conquests. But at the Jhelum he changed his course. With the bold imagination characteristic of him, he decided to descend the river-system and to make his way westwards coastwise; part of his army would be carried on ships under the Cretan Nearchus, and part would follow on land by the river-banks or along the shore. The journey towards the sea was not unopposed, and at one point near the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab, Alexander was wounded and nearly killed whilst leading the assault on a resistant town. Slowly, however, the argosy floated down the great rivers to the ancient delta, at the head of which stood the city of Pattala, somewhere inland from the present coastline, perhaps near Hyderabad in Sind.

Alexander's death

Before reaching Pattala, Alexander had detached a portion of his army and placed it under Craterus with orders to march back overland through Qandhar and Sistan. He then established a colony at Pattala, set about the rebuilding of the town, sacrificed bulls to the sea-god,

Poseidon, and started homeward. The fleet sailed, again under Nearchus; Alexander himself marched with a division of his troops through the arid wastes of Makran, and ultimately, after great hardships reached Babylon, where he died shortly afterwards in his thirty-fourth year.

Effects of Greek Conquest

His conquests were ephemeral but constitut d one of the greatest achievements in military history. Their value was of a kind not easy to appraise in simple terms. In much he failed. He sprinkled Greek or semi-Greek cities over the territories traversed by him in the expectation of an international polity which never came into being and an international commerce which did not in fact materialize until a later age. Most of these cities probably disappeared soon after his departure; others survived precariously, a very few prospered though with a dwindling Greek inheritance. The notion that the fair *Kafirs* of the North-West Frontier are descendants of the Macedonian colonists has no scientific foundation and little likelihood. But in less tangible ways his great exploit produced results that have endured. It opened up a new world to knowledge and prepared the way for a circulation of ideas which has continued and increased down to the present day.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

Alexander's death at Babylon in June, 323 B.C., was followed by a succession of important events both in the west and the east. The attempt to divide the newly-won Greek empire amongst the generals of the dead king led inevitably to disputes, and the struggle for authority was a long one. It was not indeed until about 306 B.C. that Seleucus Nikator, the "conqueror", emerged as ruler of western Asia. Meanwhile, the Greek colonies in the Indus basin had been largely destroyed, and a new power had arisen in the East.

Chandragupta Maurya

Far away in the Ganges valley lay the kingdom of Magadha, with its capital, formerly amongst the hills of Rajgir, now stretched along the bank of the Ganges near modern Patna. There, at Pataliputra, the dynasty of the Nandas had ruled without any very great distinction for something over a century; but about 322 B.C. a low-born connexion of the family, by force and intrigue, succeeded in usurping the local throne. The usurper, Chandragupta Maurya by name, was aided and abetted by a remarkable minister, known variously as Chanakya or Kautilya, who has left us a revealing treatise on statecraft, of which more will be said, King and minister at once began to build up an immense professional army and to extend the rule of Magadha far beyond its traditional boundaries. It may have spread eastwards into what is now East Pakistan. More clearly, it advanced north-westwards into West Pakistan, where the dominion of the Greeks was by this time merely a shadow.

Conflict with Seleucus Nikator

In 305 B.C., Seleucus made some show of accepting the challenge, though perhaps with no great fixity of purpose. He crossed the Indus, but with or without a battle (the details are uncertain) quickly came to terms with his enemy. He received

the face-saving gift to 500 elephants, but surrendered the Greek lands up to the foot of the Hindukush and entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Indian king. The new Mauryan dynasty now ruled the whole vast belt of the Indian plains and was perhaps already feeling its way into the Deccan.

Kautilya and Megasthenes

Of Chandragupta Maurya, in one way and another, a good deal is known. About 302 B.C. Seleucus sent an envoy named Megasthenes to the Mauryan court at Pataliputra, and this Megasthenes compiled an account of the regime and the city which has in part come down to us in form of extracts preserved by later authors. These are supplemented by Kautilya's treatise, already referred to: and the combined result is a vivid picture of the environment and personality of the monarch. He is revealed as a stern autocrat, with a rare genius for administration tempered by religious feeling which is said to have induced him to abdicate in middle age in favour of a religious life. Archæology adds its quota. Excavators at Pataliputra have brought to light the timber palisade which, as Megasthenes tells us, fenced the vast riverside metropolis, and a part of the plan of a multi-columned hall reminiscent of those in the royal palace at Persepolis. The polished surface of the Mauryan columns and the distinctive form of their capitals are alike Persian in character. There can be no doubt that craftsmen from Persepolis had found a new home at the court of the Indian despot, and their influence upon the architecture of the subcontinent was destined to endure for many centuries.

Mauryan State

The *Arthashastra* attributed to Kautilya and, therefore, ascribable to about 300 B.C. gives a remarkable and circumstantial account of the policy of the time. The picture is that of a despotism resting upon a cruel and inevitably unscrupulous police-law but at the same time cognizant of the social and economic needs of the country. High-roads were built and signposted, and Megasthenes adds

a mention of the "royal road" from Pataliputra to the North-West Frontier, a route which has served as one of the great strategic axes of the subcontinent. The occupation of the bulk of the population was agriculture; the upper classes were to some extent controlled by the fact that they had an official rather than a land-owning qualification, receiving a definite portion of the revenue. The widespread forests were in part inhabited by wild tribes but were also exploited for game and raw materials. Towns were abundant and variously fortified. The houses were normally of wood and might be as much as three storeys high; and, amidst so much timberwork, strict and necessary fire precautions were laid down, including the provision of water vessels in the streets. Palaces, workshops, store-houses and prisons are mentioned, and Megasthenes amplifies our knowledge of the palace with a vivid description of the doubtless, like the architecture, owed something to Persian influence.

Seven classes of population

To Megasthenes also we owe the information that, apart altogether from a caste-system which was already mature, the whole population was divided into seven classes, of which the highest was that of the philosophers. These privileged folk were immune from labour and taxation but were responsible for sacrifices and divination, and were the official prophets in matters relating to agriculture and politics. The other classes were the cultivators (most numerous of all), the herdsmen and hunters, the traders and artisans, the fighters (most numerous after the cultivators), the secret reporters and spies, and finally a small but distinguished class of royal advisers. It is easy to identify the philosophers of Megasthenes with Brahmins. Interesting details regarding trade are given by Kautilya. Gold, silver, jewels and spices came from all parts of India and Ceylon, silk from China, skins from Central Asia and China.

Customs dues were collected at the frontiers and at the city-gates. Passports were issued and demanded. The king himself engaged in commerce in a large way, trading the produce of his lands, workshops, mines and prisons. The cosmopolitan character of all this activity reflect a growth of luxury and a broadening of horizons on an imperial scale. And even amongst the less wealthy classes, life appears to have been by no means lacking in gaiety and variety. We read of inns, gambling-houses, guildhouses, public entertainments; and an element of social security is provided by organized aid for orphans, the old and the helpless, in particular for the dependents of soldiers and workmen dying in service. At the same time order was maintained by espionage and harsh code of punishment.

The King

The whole system of government was focussed on the king, whose carefully guarded and strenuous life was regulated daily on the strict time-basis by the use of sun-dial or water-clock, so that the royal affairs were attended to in fixed rotation. Under him, a hierarchy of individuals and departments dealt with finance, public works (such as irrigation), the vast and miscellaneous army and foreign policy. But behind and beneath all this were two modifying factors. First there was a real element of autonomy in local village affairs which is traditional in the subcontinent. And secondly, on a wider plane, governors and chieftains in various parts of the wide empire must have exercised an uncertain measure of local power, always under the distant surveillance of the emperor through his organized spy-system. These modifications, however, do not affect the essential principles of Mauryan rule: a rigid autocracy, liable to much abuse but, in its better aspects, closely concerned with the economic development of the country and with its artistic enrichment and glorification. It was in harmony with the place and the times and formed the framework of the nearest approach to all-India rule prior to the Muslim period.

Ministers

The most important ministers at the centre were the *samahartri* who combined the duties of a modern minister of interior and the chancellor of the exchequer. Next in importance was the *sannidhatri* or minister of works who held charge of storehouses, treasuries, prisons, armouries, warehouses etc. He also maintained a rain-guage. The other important officers were the *prashastri* or minister of correspondence, the chamberlain and the head of the bodyguard. The king's inner cabinet consisted of the *mantrin* who was his chief adviser, the *purohita* who was his religious adviser, the *senapati* who was his commander-in-chief and the *yuvaraja* who was his heir-apparent.

The army

The extensive conquests of the Mauryan rulers indicate that they must have possessed a formidable army. It is said to have comprised 600,000 infantry, 30,000 horses, 9,000 elephants and a number of chariots. Elephants played an important role in Indian armies and were their mainstay. The horsemen were provided with two lances and a buckler and the infantry-men were armed with broad swords and bows and arrows. Each chariot carried two soldiers besides the driver, and the elephants carried archers. There were six boards of five members each to look after the army. Cavalry, infantry, chariots, elephants, the river fleet and the transport were each assigned to a board.

Civil Administration

The municipal administration of Pataliputra was in the hands of a commission consisting of thirty persons divided into six boards of five members each. One of these controlled and directed the handicrafts and arts and regulated the rates of wages and maintained the standard of quality. The second board looked after foreigners and visitors. The fact that there was a board for this purpose indicates close intercourse with

neighbouring countries. The third board maintained a register of births and deaths, probably for purposes of taxation. The fourth board regulated trade and commerce and maintained weights and measures. There was a board for supervising the sale of manufactured articles and another to levy taxes on sales. The commissioners were also required to supervise teples, markets and other public amenities.

Revenue

The main source of revenue was the State demand on agricultural produce. On lands belonging to the king the peasant paid three-fourths of the gross produce; on other lands he paid only one-fourth. The State, in some places, provided tanks and canals for irrigation and charged additional tax for it.

Justice

The highest court of appeal was the king. Besides him there were civil and criminal courts. Each court had three judges who were advised by learned Brahmins. In addition there was a system of *panchayats*, which acted as boards of arbitration and *parishads* to decide religious cases.

Ashoka

Chandragupta's main activities had centred in the north. His son, Bindusara (c. 298-273 B.C.), seems to have been active in the Deccan and probably extended the Mauryan dominion into Mysore. The same policy of aggrandizement was followed at first by Bindusara's famous son, Ashoka, who came to the throne about 273 B.C. and a dozen years later carried war into Orissa the land of the *Kalingas*, whom he conquered with much slaughter. Ashoka, however, had in him more than a streak of his grandfather's religious inclination, and the misery which accompanied his victory deeply affected him. Full of remorse, he adopted Buddhism; and, fired with missionary zeal, he spent the rest of his life in the inclucation of Buddhist principles through his wide dominions.

Spread of Buddhism

For this purpose he toured the countryside and erected memorial-pillars at places associated with the life of the Buddha. He also had admonitory edicts carved on natural rock-faces and upon pillars. At the same time, in a fashion already characteristic of Persia, he cut shrines and monasteries in the live rock and instituted a tradition which in India was to undergo a remarkable development during later centuries. In his evangelical work he did not forget the north-western corner of his empire, of which he had some personal knowledge since as a prince he had been sent there by his father to quell a rebellion. Now as a ruler, again emulating the Great King of Persia, he had his edicts cut in the Persian *Kharoshthi* script upon two masses of rock at Shahbazgarhi, 40 miles north-east of Peshawar, and on two others at Mansehra, in the Hazara district, beside an old route from the Peshawar plain to northern Kashmir. The general theme of the edicts is moderation and gentleness. Even animals should be spared; "formerly in the royal kitchen each day many thousands of living creatures were slain to make curries.... At present only three living creatures, namely two peacocks and one deer, are killed daily. Even these three creatures shall not be slaughtered in future". More positive steps had also been taken. Healing herbs had been imported alike for men and beasts, trees had been planted and wells dug beside the roads. Moral agents—censors of the Law of Piety—had beeh appointed to inculcate obedience, liberality and avoidance of excess amongst all class of the Empire and apparently even amongst neighbouring peoples. But all this goodwill must be combined with efficiency. "For a long time past, business has not been disposed of, nor have reports been received promptly at all hours". This laxity would cease. In future the King would be accessible for business at all hours of the day and night. "Work I must for the public benefit....for no other end than this that I may discharge my debt to animate beings, and

that, while I make some happy in this world, they may in the next world gain heaven". For better contact with his subjects he had replaced the former royal tours of pleasure by tours devoted to piety, beholding the country and the people and proclaiming the law of virtue. Silly customs and superstitions should be abandoned. The only ceremonies worth while were the ceremonies of piety, "kind treatment of slaves and servants, honour to teachers, respect for life, liberality to ascetics". In brief, let there be tolerance, and glorification of the law of piety, as laid down by the Buddha.

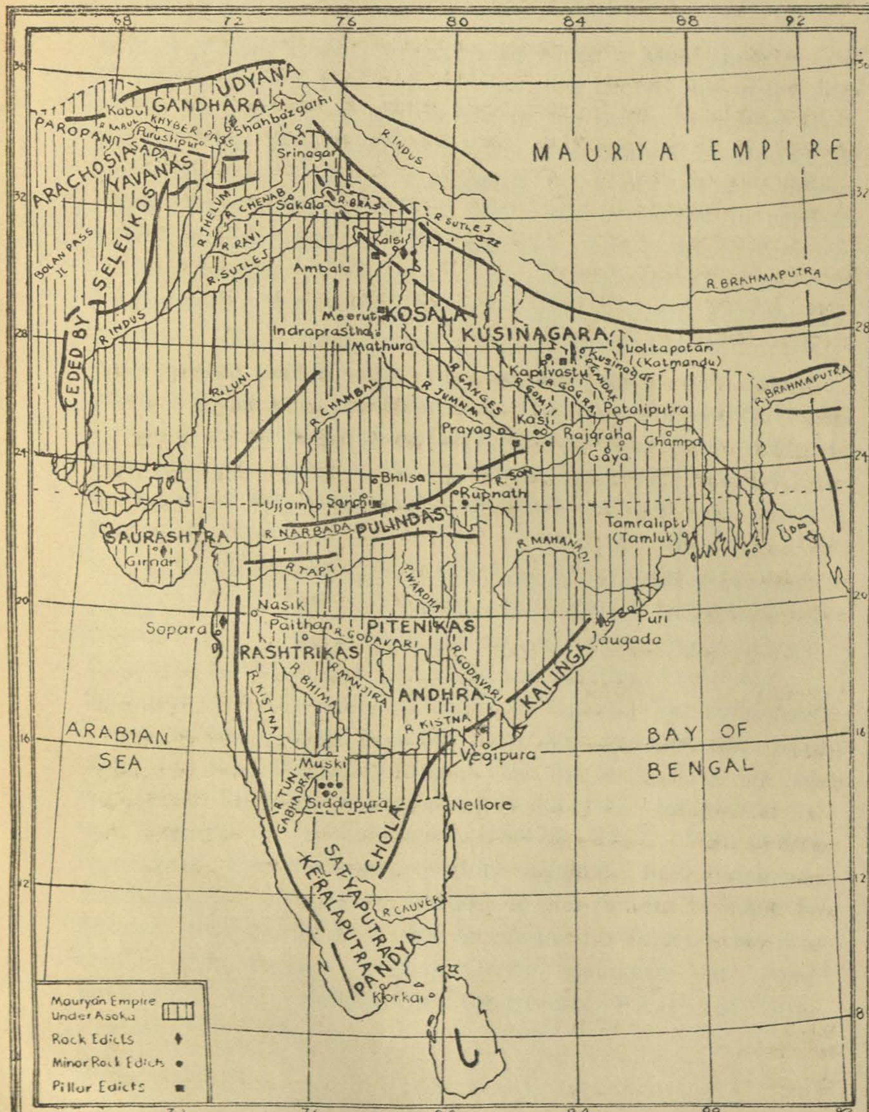
In this remarkable anticipation of later faiths, Ashoka was ahead of his time and his work suffered accordingly. After his death in or about 232 B.C., the whole fabric of his Empire, temporal and spiritual alike, broke up. But he had planted in more than half of the subcontinent, and not the least in Pakistan, a spirit which in one form or another was to reappear in subsequent ages and to enter into the consciousness or subconsciousness of otherwise divergent peoples.

University of Taxila

To the Buddhism of Ashoka may incidently be ascribed the upgrowth of the earliest university of Pakistan. In the *Jatakas*, which enshrine the Buddhist legends and date approximately from the second century B.C., reference is made to a university at Taxila. This university may be imagined as comprising groups of students distributed amongst the innumerable monasteries which, at and after the time of Ashoka, sprang up in the environs of this famous city, and are represented there today by the remains of several of their *Kushana* successors.

Bogra Inscription

But it is not only in the west that we can trace the handiwork of the Mauryan dynasty in Pakistan. The seventh century Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, relates that certain Buddhist stupas of Bengal were traditionally founded by Ashoka, and on general grounds the tradition is not an improbable one. The only actual Bengali


MAURYA EMPIRE
UDYANA
GANDHARA
Kabul
KHYBER PASS
Shahbazgarhi
PAROPANISADAI
Purushpura
ARACHOSIA
YAVANAS
SELEUKOS
CEDED BY
BOLAN PASS
Srinagar
R. INDUS
R. JHELUM
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
R. SUTLEJ
Sakala
Kalsi
Ambala
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
Meerut
KOSALA
Indraprastha
Mathura
KUSINAGARA
Kusinagar
Kapilvastu
(Katmandu)
R. GANGES
R. JUMNA
R. CHAMBAL
R. LUNI
R. GOMTI
R. GOGRA
Pataliputra
Prayag
Kasi
Rajgraha
Gaya
Champa
Bhilsa
R. SON
Rupnath
Ujjain
Sanchi
PULINDAS
SAURASHTRA
Girnar
R. NARBADA
R. TAPTI
R. MAHANADI
Tamralipti
(Tamluk)
R. WARDHA
Nasik
Paithan
PITENIKAS
Sopara
R. GODAVARI
RASHTRIKAS
Puri
Jaugada
R. BHIMA
R. MANJIRA
R. KISTNA
ANDHRA
KALINGA
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY OF
BENGAL
Vegipura
Muski
R. TUNGABHADRA
Siddapura
Nellore
CHOLA
SATYAPUTRA
KERALAPUTRA
R. CAUVERY
PANDYA
Korkai
Mauryan Empire Under Asoka
Rock Edicts
Minor Rock Edicts
Pillar Edicts
68
72
76
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84
88
92
36
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24
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8

relic at present known, however, to which a Mauryan date can be attributed is a tiny slab of limestone picked up on the site of the ancient city of Mahasthan in the Bogra district of East Bengal. The stone bears six lines of a Brahmi inscription in characters and language resembling those of Ashoka's pillar-edicts of the mid-third century B.C.; and it records the earliest known Bengal famine and the measures taken by the *mahamatra* of Pundranagar, the ancient name of Mahasthan, to meet it by the issue of paddy from reserve stocks evidently kept for the purpose. These stocks were to be replenished in better times both in kind and in coin—an early reference to coinage, presumably of the punch-marked kind found frequently in Bengal as in other parts of the subcontinent. As a sidelight upon the economy of the period and as testimony to the foresight of the Mauryans, the document is of unusual historical interest.

Ashoka's Successors

The events which followed the death of Ashoka about 232 B.C. are not clearly recorded. It appears that the Empire was divided between two grandsons, Dasaratha in the eastern provinces and Samprati in the western, the latter probably with his capital at Ujjain. The subsequent history of the dynasty becomes more and more obscure, until about 184 B.C. the last prince of the line was slain by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra Sunga, who established the new dynasty of the Sungas (184-73 B.C.). Pushyamitra represented the Brahmin reaction against the Mauryan Buddhism; but it is more relevant to the present context to observe that shortly after his accession his forces came into conflict with *Yavanas* or semi-Greek foreigners at some unidentified spot, perhaps in the eastern Punjab or Uttar Pradesh.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INDO-GREEK AND SCYTHIAN STATES

The disruption of the Greek colonies in the Indus region during the years immediately following the death if Alexander the Great by no means ended the impact of Greek civilization upon West Pakistan. On two occasions—about 200 B.C. under Euthydemos, and about 162 B.C. under Eucratides—major invasions of Greeks and semi-Greeks penetrated into Baluchistan the North-West Frontier, the Punjab and Sind, and on one occasion may even have reached the middle country of the Ganges valley. Unfortunately the history of the whole of this period is fragmentary and vague in the extreme. It consists of references in Greek, Latin and Indian writings, supplemented by a remarkable series of coins inscribed in Greek and *Kharoshthi* and, to a smaller extent, by excavation at Taxila in the Punjab. In Indian literature and inscriptions the Greeks are called *Yavanas* or *Yonas* or *Yonakas*, the *Iaunas* of old Persian inscription and the *Ionians* of the Greeks themselves. The *Ionians* were in fact the Greek colonists of Asia Minor who had been conquered by the Persians in 545 B.C.

The focus of these *Yavana* enterprises was the kingdom of

Bactria

Bactria, beside the river Oxus beyond the great mountain-range of the Hindukush. The capital of this kingdom, Bactria (the modern Balkh), lay on the famous Silk Route which linked eastern and western Asia and at this point threw out of south-easternly branch-route into Pakistan and India. Today the ancient metropolis is a series of mounds about seven miles in circumference set in the midst of a desolate steppe; but twenty two centuries ago it was one of the great cities of the world, ruled by Greek dynasties who maintained some contact with western civilisation and at the same time never forgot that their interests lay in Asia and that the Indus was a nominal part of their inheritance.

At first, Bactria was merely a province of the new Eurasiatic "empire" which Alexander had sketched out for himself. But the partitioning of that empire did not cease with the emergence of Seleucus Nikator as king of Asia about 306 B.C. Under his son and successor, Antiochus I, a certain Diodotus was *satrap* or governor of Bactria, and either this Diodotus or a son of the same name, finding remote control from the Seleucid capital in Syria, unsatisfactory, declared Bactria an independent kingdom. About the same time, towards the middle of the third century B.C. the Parthians of the Iranian Plateau, a mixed people with a Turkoman element in their blood, likewise revolted and set up an independent regime which was to affect the history of Asia for many centuries to come.

For some considerable time the Seleucid kings in the west were too preoccupied to take action against these dissident kingdoms, and it was not until 212 B.C. that the reigning Seleucid, Antiochus the Great, was able to march east from Syria against the Parthians. An arduous campaign followed, but by 208 B.C. Parthia had come to terms and Antiochus was free to turn upon Bactria. Euthydemos, the third king of Bactria, was defeated in a hard-fought battle and forced to retreat to his capital, where, after a protracted siege, a treaty was finally arranged. Thereafter, Antiochus led his army southwards through the passes of the Hindukush and received the submission of an otherwise-unknown Indian king, Sophagasenus who ruled the country between Kabul and the Indus in what had been the frontier zone of the Mauryan Empire. Whether Antiochus actually crossed the present borders of Pakistan is doubtful. Fresh troubles awaited him in the west, and he hurried back by Qandhar and through Sistan. The real result of the expedition had been rather to regularize than to neutralize the position of Bactria and Parthia as significant powers on the frontiers of the Indus Valley. Indeed, the exploit of Antiochus in the Kabul-Indus expedition had demonstrated the ease with which

organized expansion could be effected in that direction and the wealth which there awaited the invader.

It was Bactria that first profited by the hint. Whether Euthydemos himself annexed this borderland is uncertain. Certain it is that his son and successor, Demetrius, known as 'king of the Indians' and represented on his coins as wearing an elephant head-dress, was master of the Indus Valley; in other words, for a short time in the earlier part of the second century B.C. most of West Pakistan formed a part of the kingdom of Bactria.

The transference of the focus of royal authority and interest from the north to the south of the Hindukush was fatal to the integrity of the Bactrian kingdom. About 175 B.C. an upstart named Eucratides appeared on the scene at Bactria, and raised the standard of revolt. In the sequel, Demetrius, now in his Indus territories, lost control of his Bactrian homeland, and during the struggles of the subsequent decade disappeared from history.

Decline of Bactria

Our knowledge of this period is very slight and confused. Coins appears to indicate that there were both a Euthydemos II and a Demetrius II, together with other kings or chieftains bearing less familiar names; but of their prowess we have no record. Their number alone is sufficient to indicate a time of chaos. I may be inferred that the central figure was Eucratides, who was, it seems, confronted not merely by Demetrius in India but also by encroachment by the neighbouring Parthia and perhaps by new folk-movements north of the Oxus. Nevertheless, he reduced the Indus territory to subjection and, as a Greek historian tells us, made himself master of a 'thousand cities'. It may be that, as in the case as Demetrius, excessive absence in this remote part of his kingdom was his undoing. At any rate, on his return march to Bactria he was murdered, presumably towards the middle of the century, and the murderer was his son, probably the Heliocles who succeeded him on the Bactrian throne.

This Heliocles was the last Greek 'king of India' whose coins are found north of the Hindukush. It is inferred that it was during his reign, not later than 135 B.C., that the *Sakas* or Scythians pressed southwards from Turkestan across the Oxus and, in the words of the Greek historian, Strabo, "drove the Greeks out of Bactria". Scythians were themselves urged onwards by the *Yuehchi*, later represented in Indo-Pakistan history by the *Kushanas*, and the *Yuehchi* were in turn harried by the Huns. The age was one of widespread folk-movement from Central Asia, and it is not always easy or possible to distinguish one group of invaders clearly from another. In one guise or another, however, the appearance of these nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Bactria constituted a growing threat to the survival of Indo-Greek rule even as far away as the Punjab. Barred now from the traditional Greek metropolis of Bactria and cut off almost completely from the main Greek world by a hostile and vaguely ambitious Parthia, the days of the Greeks in Pakistan were numbered.

Menander

Even so, one Greek name from this ultimate phase has sustained an honourable place in history. Menander, who probably belonged to the family of Euthydemos, seems to have ruled simultaneously with another member of the same family, Appollodotus, in the Kabul valley, West Pakistan and East Punjab, and to have been more especially associated with the eastern part of that wide region. A Greek author records that as late as the second half of the first century A.C. coins of these two rulers were still in circulation in Kathiawar. The two kings appear to have been contemporary with Eucratides about the middle of the second century B.C., but the political relationship of the period cannot on the present evidence be disentangled. Menander alone has survived in the literary tradition as a living entity. He is the hero of the *Questions of Milinda*, a Pali

treatise, ultimately of north India (or possibly Greek) origin, on the principles of Buddhist philosophy. The treatise takes the form of a series of questions put by Milinda or Menander to a Buddhist elder, who eventually succeeds in convincing him. Incidental light is thrown upon the sincerity, power and wealth of the royal questioner, whose capital is described as being in the country of the *Yonakas*, a great centre of trade, a city that is called 'Sagala', which may perhaps be identified with Sialkot in the Punjab. The king is attended by 500 *Yonaka* courtiers some of whom bear Indianized Greek names. Nor was Menander's fame confined to East; two centuries later, the western historian Plutarch related how, after the king's death, his cities competed for a share of his ashes.

For the rest, it will suffice to record that, of all the Greek kings, only one has left monumental record in the sub-continent; Antialcidas, who ruled at Taxila about 140 B.C. or a little later, and sent a *Yavana* ambassador called Heliodorus, son of Dio, to the court of the king of Vidisa (Bhilsa) in Gwalior State. There the visitor can still see a well-known memorial column bearing an inscription which records the fact, and incidentally marks the furthest known extent of Greek contact.

Scythians

Local Greek chiefs seem to have continued to reign precariously in the Kabul valley until the middle of the first century A.C. The last of them was apparently Hermaeus, some of whose coins bear also the name of Kujula Kadphises, the first *Kushana* king in Pakistan, and indicate an intermediary phase of dual control.

But long before this the Scythians had swarmed through the passes of the Hindukush from Bactria and, in uncertain partnership with the Parthians, had secured control of the Indus Valley and the Punjab, with such success that the region of the lower Indus became known to western geographers as "Scythia". The extension of Scythian power into the Punjab probably

occurred in the time of Azes I, who came to the throne about 58 B.C. and was the first Scythian king to adopt the East Punjab coin types of the *Yavana* princes, such as Apollodotus and Menander. Incidentally, it may well have been Azes I, who replanned and rebuilt the fine stone defences of Taxila as we see them today, replacing the mud or mud-brick wall put up in the previous century.

Whether the dynasty of Azes was in fact Scythian or whether it was Parthian is a matter of dispute. By the first century A.C., at any rate, the Parthians seem to have been dominant in the Punjab, and the name of the celebrated Gondopharnes, who ruled at Taxila from 19 A.C. until after 45 A.C. is unquestionably Parthian. Gondopharnes was a king of wide repute, so much so that a Christian tradition as early as the third century A.C. was able to aver that St. Thomas journeyed to him from Jerusalem and, after various vicissitudes, converted him to Christianity. The story is at least a testimony to the king's fame in the west. He was succeeded by Pacores, of whom nothing is known save that he had seen service in Iran. Reference has been made above to the Scythian (or Parthian) town-walls of Taxila (Sirkap). Within them, the visitor can today see an appreciable portion of the city which Gondopharnes and his fellow-Parthians ruled in the first century B.C. As excavated, the houses, shops, shrines and street show a town laid out on a regular grid-plan, in which eastern and western elements combine to produce a vivid picture of the urban environment of Pakistan's early history.

Shortly afterwards, the *Kushanas*, a sect of the *Yuechi* already mentioned, who had followed the Scythians into Bactria, pursued them into the lands south of the Hindukush; and West Pakistan became a part of a new *Kushana* Empire with its capital at Peshawar and with Taxila presumably as a provincial headquarters.

Kanishka

The most important ruler of the *Kushana* dynasty was Kanishka. He not only completed the conquest of upper India but also extended the frontiers of his empire to the territories beyond the Pamir and annexed provinces of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. He is described as having been the king of Gandhara with his capital at Purushpura (modern Peshawar). In the early years of his reign he had annexed the valley of Kashmir and extended his dominion to the basins of the Indus and Ganges. He also led a successful invasion against Parthia. Kanishka was a great patron of Buddhism, and Buddhist writers compare him to Ashoka. He is depicted to have been a cruel monarch in his youth, but he was later converted to Buddhism. He was puzzled by the conflicting views of the various sects and, therefore, he summoned a council of learned monks who met in Kashmir. About 500 men took part in these discussions, the most famous of whom were Vasumitra who presided over the deliberations and the aged Asvaghosha, whom Kanishka respected highly. Some writers, however, doubt whether Kanishka was responsible for convening the Council. It is, however, certain that the Council was held and its decisions were inscribed on copper plates and deposited in a stupa, specially constructed for this purpose. Though he was a devout Buddhist, yet his coins reveal that he respected Iranian and Greeks divinities. It is, therefore, not unlikely that he was the founder of the Mahayana school of Buddhism. Mahayana means 'the Great Vehicle' as opposed to Hinayana which means 'the Little Vehicle'. The latter was purer form of Buddhism and, therefore, more orthodox. Mahayana Buddhism incorporated within itself the teachings of other religions and the worship of other deities. In course of time, in India, Mahayana became the most popular form of Buddhism; in some respects it could hardly be distinguished from the prevailing Brahmanical religion. It is in the *Kushana* period that we come across the earliest images of the Buddha. In

earlier Buddhism, the Buddha was not represented in imagery, and generally a throne with his slippers or some other symbol was used for him. Now Buddha came to be represented frequently in person, and later the images of the Buddha became an important part of Buddhist religious worship. Kanishka was succeeded by his son Huvishka who seems to have enjoyed a long reign. Soon after his death the *Kushana* dynasty began to decline and ultimately it was swept away by the While Huns.

Literature and Art

Under the patronage of Kanishka literature and art made great progress. Vasumitra was a great theologian. Ashvaghosha was a poet, musician, a scholar and a great theologian; Charek is the most celebrated of the early Indian authors on medicine. Kanishka was a great builder who built great monuments at Peshawar, Taxila and Mathura. Closely associated with architecture was sculpture which made great progress under the *Kushamas.* They developed the Gandharva style, which is known after the name of Gandhara, an area including Peshawar and Taxila. It is deeply influenced by the Greek traditions; in the delineation of the features and the execution of the drapery in particular Greek influence is dominant. Numerous specimens of this culture are found in the museum at Peshawar, and in excavations in Afghanistan and West Pakistan.

CHAPTER IX

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

Beginning of Gupta Rule

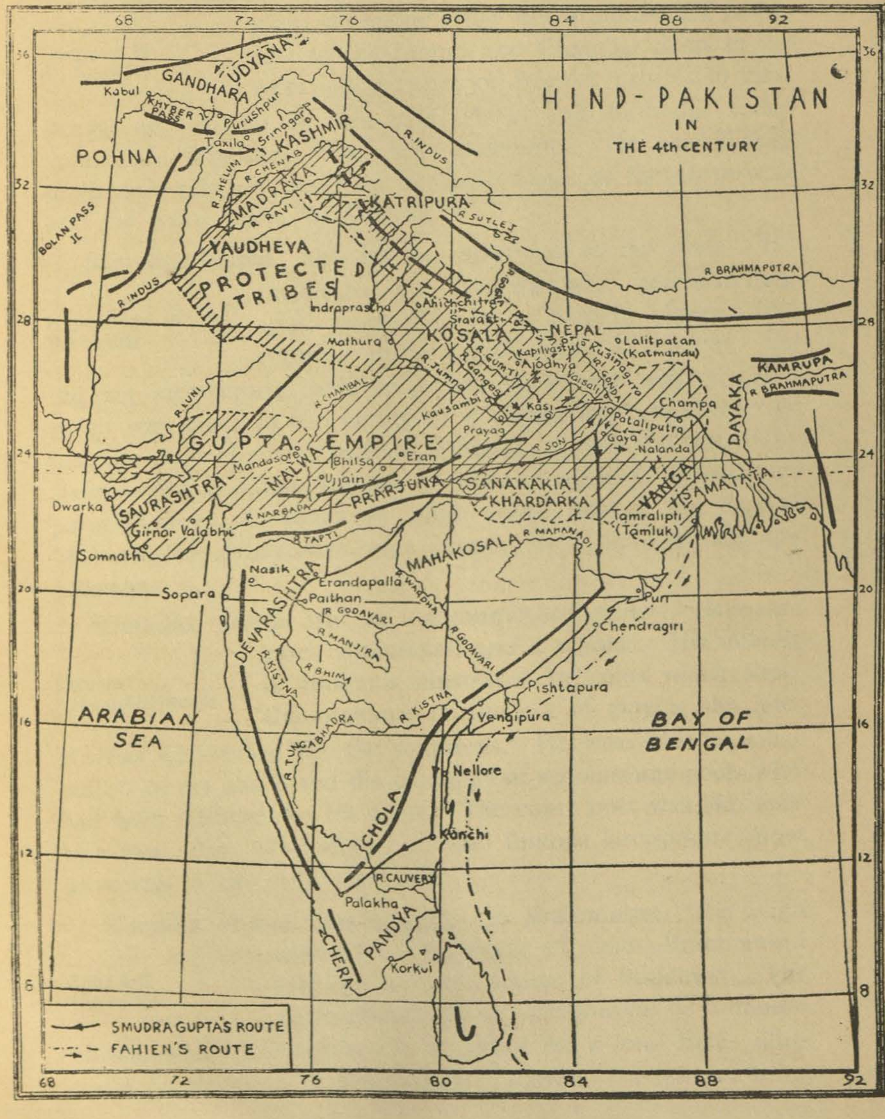
The fall of the *Kushanas* was followed by a period of disintegration. For about a century northern India was divided into a number of independent States, none of which had any stability or strength. Amongst them, however, the *Lichchavis* of Vaisali, occupying a portion of north Behar, which included the city of Pataliputra, enjoyed an eminent position. Early in the fourth century, Kumaradevi, a *Lichchavi* princess, was married to Chandra Gupta, son of Ghatotkacha, a local chieftain of Magadha. This enhanced the prestige and position of Chandra Gupta and paved the way for the rise of the Gupta power. The importance of this matrimonial alliance is shown by the fact that gold coins were issued in the joint names of Chandra Gupta and Kumaradevi.

Chandra Gupta I (C. 320-340)

Chandra Gupta, strengthened by his alliance with the *Lichchavis*, adopted a policy of expansion. It is likely that he held sway over territories corresponding to modern Oudh and Behar. He assumed the title of Maharajadhiraja which shows that Chandra Gupta was the first king of the dynasty to exercise imperial power. He seems to have started the Gupta era to commemorate his accession to the throne in 320 A.C. Before his death in 340 he nominated Samudra Gupta, his son by Kumaradevi, as his successor in an assembly summoned for this purpose.

Samudra Gupta (C. 340-380)

Samudra Gupta was the greatest king of the line. The series of successful campaigns he led to expand his empire testify to his undoubted qualities as a conqueror and warrior of the first rank.



HIND-PAKISTAN
IN
THE 4th CENTURY
UDYANA
GANDHARA
Kabul
KHYBER PASS
Purushpur
Srinagar
KASHMIR
Taxila
POHNA
R. INDUS
R. CHENAB
R. JHELUM
MADRAKA
R. RAVI
KATRIPURA
R. SUTLEJ
BOLAN PASS
YAUDHEYA
PROTECTED TRIBES
Indraprastha
Ahichchitra
Sravasti
KOSALA
NEPAL
Lalitpatan (Katmandu)
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
Mathura
Kapilvastu
Kusinagara
Ajodhya
R. GUMTI
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
Vaisali
KAMRUPA
DAYAKA
R. CHAMBAL
R. LUNI
Kausambi
Kasi
Champa
Prayag
Pataliputra
Gaya
Nalanda
R. SON
GUPTA EMPIRE
Mandasore
Bhilsa
Eran
Ujjain
MALWA
PRARJUNA
SANAKAKIA
KHARDARKA
VANGA
SAMATATA
SAURASHTRA
Dwarka
R. NARBADA
Tamralipti (Tamluk)
Girnar
Valabhi
R. TAPTI
R. MAHANADI
Somnath
MAHAKOSALA
Nasik
Erandapalla
DEVARASHTRA
R. WARDHA
Sopara
Paithan
R. GODAVARI
Puri
Chendragiri
R. MANJIRA
R. BHIMA
R. KISTNA
Pishtapura
ARABIAN SEA
R. TUNGABHADRA
Vengipura
BAY OF BENGAL
Nellore
CHOLA
Kanchi
R. CAUVERY
Palakha
PANDYA
CHERA
Korkui
SMUDRA GUPTA'S ROUTE
FAHIEN'S ROUTE
68
72
76
80
84
88
92
36
32
28
24
20
16
12
8

Conquest in the North

He made himself the paramount ruler of the entire Gangetic plain stretching from the Brahmaputra in the east to the Jumna and Chambal rivers in the west. A number of frontier princes in East Bengal and Assam as well as Garhwal and Jullundur valley voluntarily submitted to his suzerainty. He established diplomatic relations with the Scythian kings of the north-west and the Saka rulers of Gujarat.

Expeditions in the South

Samudra Gupta also led an expedition to the south. He penetrated the Vindhyas and then marching south reached as far as modern Madras, and returned to the capital laden with booty. He did not incorporate these areas into his empire and the campaign was more in the nature of a plundering expedition. In keeping with Hindu tradition, Samudra Gupta celebrated the *Ashvamedha* or horse sacrifice in order to establish his claim to paramountcy. A series of gold coins bearing the legend '*Ashvamedha Prakrama*' were struck to commemorate the occasion.

Personal Accomplishments

Samudra Gupta was an accomplished prince. He wasa poet, a musician and a scholar. His interest in music is illustrated by coins which show the monarch in the act of playing the lute. He was well-versed in the scriptures. He was also a great patron of art and loved the company of scholars and poets who had been attracted to his court. The court poet was Harisena who was also the author of the famous inscription now preserved in the Allahabad fort.

Religious Toleration

Samudra Gupta was a patron of Brahminism. His reign marks the beginning of the Brahmanical reaction and the decline of Buddhism. The performance of the *ashvamedha* by Samudra Gupta, which had fallen into abeyance for a long time, illustrates his devotion to Brahmanical tradition. In spite of being

a devotee of Brahminism he permitted Meghavarna, the Buddhist king of Ceylon, to build a monastery at Bodh-Gaya for Ceylonese pilgrims.

Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya (C, 380-413)

Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Ramagupta who, however, proved to be a weakling. His younger brother, Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, usurped the throne and married his brother's widow.

Matrimonial relations formed an important feature of the foreign policy of the Guptas. The *Lichchavi* alliance had important consequences, as has been mentioned. Samudra Gupta encouraged the vassal princes to offer him daughters in marriage. Similarly Chandra Gupta II entered into matrimonial relations with the powerful Naga ruling family of central India. He also allied himself with the famous *Vakatakas* of Berar by giving his daughter Prabhavati in marriage to Rudrasena II. The political importance of these two alliances can hardly be overestimated. They not only gave security to the Gupta dominion but transformed the Vindhiyan region into a bulwark for combating the rising power of Saka rulers of Malwa and Gujarat, known as western *satraps*.

Destruction of the Saka Kingdoms

The western *satraps* who had been ruling these regions for centuries had now become a menace to the Gupta Empire. Strengthened by the alliance of the neighbouring powers Chandra Gupta invaded the *Saka* territory. The advance of the imperial arms brought about the desired result. The evidence of coins clearly indicates that Rudrasena, the last of the *satraps*, was killed and Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar were annexed to the Gupta dominion.

The acquisition of these fertile and wealthy provinces greatly contributed to the material prosperity of the Empire, which is abundantly reflected in the gold coins of this period.

Ujjain, an important trade and religious centre, also fell into the hands of Chandra Gupta. His Empire now stretched to the Arabian Sea and the revenue derived from the ports greatly augmented the financial strength of the Guptas. The Gupta Empire also came into contact with the western world. In the wake of sea-borne trade came new ideas and influences which were of great cultural importance.

Some scholars believe that Chandra Gupta who assumed the title of Vikramaditya is the famous Bikramajit of Hindu folklore. This does not seem to be correct, nor is the story of the nine gems, *Navaratna*, being famous personages attached to the royal court, correct, because the celebrities who are grouped together under this category could by no means have been contemporaries.

Chandra Gupta II was a vigorous ruler; literature and art flourished at his court. In religious matters he was a devout worshipper of Vishnu and was active in strengthening Brahminism. He died in 413 A.C. and was succeeded by his son, Kumara Gupta.

Fa-hien

Much of our information regarding the reign of Chandra Gupta is based on the account of the Chinese traveller, Fa-hien. He came as a pilgrim to India to pay respect to the memory of the Buddha in the beginning of the fifth century. Crossing the snow-clad Pamirs into the Swat valley he passed through Peshawar and Taxila and came to Pataliputra, where he stayed for three years. He spent ten years (401-410) in this subcontinent; these synchronised with the later years of the reign of Chandra Gupta II. The pilgrim left India by sea from Tamralipiti (Tambull) in Bengal, visiting Ceylon and Java on his way home.

Fa-hien was so much engrossed in religious affairs that he does not even mention the name of the reigning king, yet his account contains much useful information about the state of the country. Magadha had several rich and prosperous towns,

of which Pataliputra was pre-eminent. It had a free hospital managed by the citizens and also two monasteries, to which hundreds of Buddhists thronged. The Mauryan palace was so imposing that the pilgrim found it difficult to believe that it could ever be built by men. The country possessed many charitable institutions and rest houses, and a large number of Buddhist monasteries. Buddhism was still flourishing. The royal officers received fixed salaries and crown lands were the main source of state revenue.

Fa-hien travelled from one end of the subcontinent to the other without being molested, and carried out his intellectual pursuits undisturbed.

Kumara Gupta I (C. 413-455)

Kumara Gupta succeeded his father. During his long reign of more than forty years he maintained the extensive empire he had inherited and to demonstrate his power performed the *ashvamedha*. But forces of disruption began to be felt towards the latter part of his reign. The *Pushyamitras* attacked and even defeated the crown prince Skanda Gupta, who, however, ultimately crushed the enemy.

Skanda Gupta (C. 455-467)

Skanda Gupta was destined to play a glorious part in the history of the Guptas. The Empire, already weakened by the incursions of the *Pushyamitras*, was now exposed to the graver menace of the formidable inroads of the Huns. These fierce nomads from the steppes of Central Asia had become a terrible scourge for mankind. They carried out wholesale and wanton destruction wherever they went. The Huns marched into Europe as well as Asia. Attila attacked the Romans Empire and the White Huns spread over the valleys of the Kabul and Swat rivers. By the middle of the fifth century the Huns made inscursions into India and ravaged the plains of Hindustan.

The Gupta Empire stood the first shock of the Hun invasion quite well. Skanda Gupta's struggle with the Huns went

on intermittently with varying intensity throughout his reign. He organised the defence of the frontier by appointing wardens of the marches and kept a vigilant eye on the enemy. The invaders were driven back (C. 455 A.C.) and so long as Skanda Gupta lived, his Empire enjoyed a respite from the fury of Hun depredations.

Skanda Gupta was a great ruler but even in his lifetime the frequent wars had impaired the financial resources of the Empire. The war of succession that followed his death, reduced it to a state of poverty and marked its rapid decline. The only monarch amongst the later Guptas worth mentioning is Buddha Gupta, who was able not only to keep the forces of disintegration at bay but also to revive imperial prestige to some extent. After his death the Huns gained the upper hand and the Gupta Empire came to an end.

The Gupta Age

The Gupta Age marked the culmination of ancient Indian culture. It was a period of great development in art, science and literature, as well as in commerce. This cultural renaissance was the result of fresh contacts with the outside world. The expansion of the Roman Empire brought the wealthy Roman traders to the Indian ports which were thus opened to world commerce. The gold of the Roman Empire flowed into India and contributed to its financial stability. With the growth of commerce, an exchange of ideas was inevitable. Similar contacts were established with Persia, and Persian influence is clearly visible in the artistic achievement of the Gupta Age.

The Gupta period was the golden age of Sanskrit. The patronage of the imperial court contributed to the development of literature. The most famous author of the period was the great poet, Kalidasa, whose literary works have been translated into various languages. The best known of these are: *Shakuntala* and *Meghaduta.* New commentaries upon well-known philosophical works were written; the *Puranas*, which are

considered part of the Hindu scriptures, were augmented and Buddhist literature considerably developed during this period.

In the domain of science, the Gupta Age stands pre-eminent for its original contribution to mathematics and astronomy. Aryabhata of Pataliputra (born in 476 A.C.) was a famous mathematician and astronomer. Another scientist Varahamihira was well versed in sciences. He was deeply influenced by the Greeks.

In the realm of art this era produced some masterpieces. Being made of timber, most of the buildings of this period have perished, but there are a few remnants of stone and brick architecture which reveal the architectural traditions of the period. Sculpture also attained a high standard. The two caves of Ajanta which belong to this age embody in stone the traditions of timber architecture as practised during the period. The paintings on the walls and ceilings of the caves reveal a high standard of conception and execution in depicting scenes; in drawing as well as the application of colour the subsidiary motifs are also remarkable for their beauty. The paintings of Ajanta depict human life in its many aspects and the artists were not only great painters but also good students of psychology.

The Gupta achieved remarkable success in metallurgical skill. The Nalanda copper image of Buddha, (about 80 ft. high) and the bronze Buddha of Sultanganj (7½ ft. high) may be mentioned as excellent specimens of this art. The iron pillar near the *Qutb Minar* at Delhi is the purest form of iron found anywhere in the world; indeed its purity is such that even modern metallurgists have not been able to achieve it. The artistic feeling of the age is also apparent in the beauty of the coins struck during this period.

CHAPTER X

NORTHERN INDIA (C. 500-650)

The Huns

The death of Skanda Gupta (C. 467) and the overthrow of the Persian power in 484 made the Huns supreme in Asia. They now ruled over a vast territory, with Herat and Balkh as their capitals. The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent lay at their mercy. Later, Toramana established himself in the Punjab and extended his authority into Rajputana and Malwa. In 502, he was succeeded by his son, Mihiragula, who ruled with Sialkot as his capital.

In 533-34 Yashodharmana, military adventurer of Malwa, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Mihiragula and liquidated the power of the Huns who were ultimately absorbed into the indigenous population. Very little is known about Yashodharmana, and his power seems to have come to an end with his death.

arshavardhana

Of the many dynasties ruling in the north, the *Pushyabhutis*- held East Punjab with Thaneswar as their capital and the *Maukharis* were rulers of Kanauj. In 606, as a result of civil war the rulers of both these dynasties were killed and the courtiers invited Harshavardhana, the youngest son of Prabhakaravardhana, a former ruler of the *Pushyabhuti* dynasty, which had entered into matrimonial alliance with the *Maukharis* of Kanauj, to occupy the throne. Harsha thus united in his person the kingdoms of Thaneswar and Kanauj. The main authorities for this period are Bana's *Harsha-Charita*, which gives a picture of contemporary life, and the famous Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who stayed at the court of Harsha for several years.

When Harsha came to the throne, he was only fifteen or sixteen years old and was faced with the formidable task of consolidating his position. In order to strengthen his position further and counteract the machinations of the ruler of Bengal,

he entered into an alliance with Bhaskaravarmana, king of Kamrup (Assam). He succeeded in this task with the help of the older courtier, Bhandi.

The Chinese pilgrim states that Harsha spent nearly six years incessant military operations against refractory elements within his dominions and reduced to subjection some of the neighbouring states as well.

In 612 Harsha found himself strong enough to assume full royal titles. The Harsha era, however, begins with 606, the year of his accession. Harsha's policy of expansion brought him into conflict with Sasanka, but the latter managed to maintain his hold over his dominions till his death. Harsha conquered Magadha and after Sasanka's death seems to have extended his sway over Bengal with the help of the ruler of Kamrup, but his attempt to extend his authority beyond Narbada did not succeed because he was decisively defeated by the Chalukya king, Pulakesin II. Nor did he succeed in extending his authority in the west. Bana claims that his Empire extended from the Himalayas to Kathiawar in the west, Narbada in the south and Orissa in the east, but as his account is linged with exaggeration it is difficult to determine the exact extent of Harsha's dominions.

Harsha's Empire

The Empire of Harsha like other ancient Indian Empires, was loosely organized and his authority over the semi-independent rulers was not very effective. In fact Harsha maintained proper control over a limited area only, comprising Thaneswar, Kananj, Magadha and Ganjam.

Kanauj, the capital of the Empire, was situated on the bank of the Ganges and was well fortified. It was a prosperous city, nearly four miles long and a mile broad, and had a number of lofty towers, pavilions and beautiful buildings, mostly made of wood.

The Empire was well governed. The affairs of the State were directly supervised by Harsha and were not left entirely in the hands of the officials. The Emperor, as Hiuen Tsang states, undertook incessant and extensive tours throughout his vast Empire, which enabled him to watch and check the activities of the chieftains. Compared with the Guptas his administration was harsh and severe. The criminal code was rigorous; mutilation was practised and capital punishment was frequently awarded. In the trial of offences ordeals by water and fire were freely used. In spite of the severity of laws crimes were not uncommon; inland travel was unsafe and the roads remained infested with brigands. In the course of his travels Hiuen Tsang was more than once molested by robbers. Taxes were light and forced labour was uncommon. The government established hospitals, charitable institutions and rest houses for public benefit. This aspect of Harsha's administration won high praise from Hiuen Tsang. The Empire had a large number of Buddhist monasteries, which flourished as places of learning and fostered education and literacy.

Administration

Harshavardhana was devoted to the cause of learning and was the author of a work on grammar and several Sanskrit plays. His interest in the promotion of literacy and cultural pursuits was reflected in his generous patronage to a large number of highly reputed scholars who thronged his court. Bana, Mayura, Haradatta, Jayasena and the accomplished Chinese scholar Hiuen Tsang were some of the celebrities of the age who enjoyed royal bounty.

Patronage of Learning

Harsha was deeply religious. In his early life he was a worshipper of *Shiva*, but this did not prevent him from showing respect to other religions. The Buddhist scholar Hiuen Tsang probably exerted considerable influence on his religious views. In his

Harsh's Religion

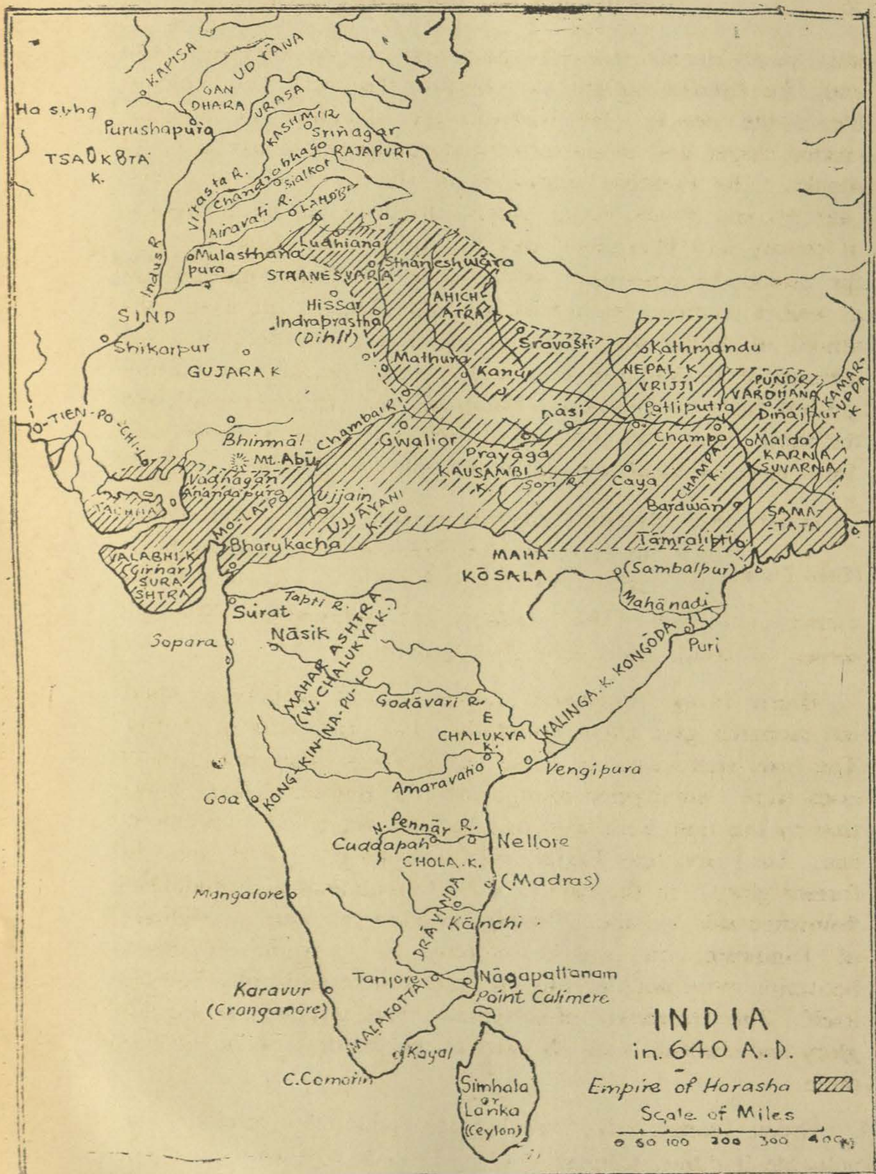
later years Harsha showed attachment to the Buddhist faith and, like Ashoka, sought to refashion the social and religious life of the people. He forbade the slaughter of animals, erected stupas and monasteries and summoned convocation of monks. The Buddhist sentiment of Harsha flowed in diverse channels and Hiuen Tsang refers eloquently to his many acts of charity and liberality. But like other Buddhist rulers of the period, he remained attached to his Brahmanical beliefs as well, a common feature of later Buddhism. The Mahayana school of Buddhism which progressively absorbed so many features of Brahminism ultimately could hardly be distinguished from Vishnuism. Buddhists and Brahmins received the same treatment and in all religious festivals *Vishnu* and *Shiva* received equal honours along with the Buddha.

Hiuen Tsang

Harsha met Hiuen Tsang in Bengal. Being interested in his learning, he summoned an assembly of learned doctors at Kanauj to discuss religious matters with him. This assembly was preceded by colourful scenes of lavish generosity and festivity.

Hiuen Tsang witnessed another festival at Prayag, where the monarch gave away his clothes and ornaments in charity. The main significance of these festivals was that Brahmanical gods were worshipped along with the Buddha, which shows that by this time Buddhism had become reconciled to Brahminism. He found that Taxila, once a proud city, had lost its former glory. In the capital itself Brahminism and Buddhism flourished side by side. Prayag and Banaras were strongholds of Hinduism, but in the country as a whole Hinduism becoming more popular and the caste system had fully asserted itself. The University of Nalanda had attained its highest glory and students from all parts of the Buddhist world flocked there.

Hiuen Tsang's adventure led to spectacular results. The valuable Buddhist scriptures which he collected were translated



KAPISA
UDYANA
GANDHARA
URASA
KASHMIR
Srinagar
RAJAPURI
Purushapura
TSAOKBTA K.
Vitasta R.
Chandrabhaga
Sialkot
Airavati R.
LAHORE
Ludhiana
Indus R.
Mulasthanapura
STHANESVARA
Sthaneshwara
Hissar
Indraprastha (Dihli)
AHICHATRA
SIND
Shikarpur
GUJARA K
Sravasti
Kathmandu
Mathura
Kanuj
NEPAL K
VRIJJI
PUNDRAVARDHANA
KAMARUPA K
Patliputra
Dinajpur
Kasi
Champa
Malda
KARNASUVARNA
TIEN-PO-CHI-LO
Chambal R.
Gwalior
Bhinmal
Mt. Abu
Prayaga
KAUSAMBI K.
Son R.
Gaya
CHAMPA K.
Vaghagan
Anandapura
Ujjain
UJJAYANI K.
Bardwan
SAMATATA
MO-LA-PO
Bharukacha
Tamralipti
VALABHI K (Girnar) SURASHTRA
MAHA KOSALA
(Sambalpur)
Tapti R.
Surat
Mahanadi
Nasik
MAHARASHTRA (W. CHALUKYA K.)
KONGODA
Puri
Sopara
KALINGA K.
KONG-KIN-NA-PU-LO
Godavari R.
E CHALUKYA K.
Vengipura
Amaravati
Goa
N. Pennar R.
Cuddapah
Nellore
CHOLA K.
(Madras)
Mangalore
DRAVIDA
Kanchi
Tanjore
Nagapattanam
Point Calimere
Karavur (Cranganore)
MALAKOTTA
Kayal
C. Comorin
Simhala or Lanka (Ceylon)
INDIA
in 640 A.D.
Empire of Harasha
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400

into Chinese through the patronage of the monarchs of the T'ang dynasty. This made it possible for the people of East Asia to have a better understanding of Buddhism, and gave a great impetus to its spread in Mongolia, Korea, Japan and other neighbouring countries.

Estimate of Harsha

Harshavardhana died in 647. Through his whole reign he was apparently in full possession of his physical and intellectual powers. At the time of his accession he had found the Kingdom in a state of confusion and it was due to his energy and vigour that peace and order had been restored and fresh territories conquered. He was a vigorous and powerful ruler but did not have the qualities of an empire builder. After his death the Empire rapidly disintegrated.

CHAPTER XI

RAJPUT ASCENDANCY IN THE NORTH

The Disappearance of Buddhism

Harsha's death was followed by a period of disintegration in the political and social life of the people. Most of the old ideas and institutions failed to survive the onslaught of the forces of disorder and confusion. In the domain of religion, for instance, Buddhism, which at one time had reigned supreme in the land of its origin, now sank into obscurity and was ultimately annihilated by its old rival, Brahminism. That the two faiths flourished side by side in some of the well-known centres of Buddhist culture at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit is amply clear from the frequent references that he makes to them. The rising tide of Brahminism proved too strong for the religion of Buddha. It would form an interesting chapter of pre-Muslim history if we could collect authentic details of the circumstances that were responsible for the complete disappearance of Buddhism from this subcontinent.

To begin with, the subtle influence of Brahminism permeated Buddhist thought. The image of the Buddha does not appear in the earlier Buddhist sculpture, which shows that Buddhism was originally averse to idol worship, but later on his image was introduced and gradually became a common feature of Buddhist worship.

In course of time Brahmanical influence became predominant in Buddhism and a new school of thought called Mahayana came into existence. Towards the end, certain forms of Mahayana Buddhism sank into a form of Tantric Brahminism.

It is beyond doubt, however, that the main cause of the destruction and disappearance of Buddhism was the fanaticism of the Brahmins. For instance, the founder of the Sunga dynasty is known to have persecuted the Buddhists in the name of orthodox Brahminism. In *Rajtarangini*, the famous

chronicle of Kashmir, we read of a Hindu raja, whose wife had been kidnapped by a Buddhist, ordering the demolition of hundreds of Buddhist temples and giving the properties attached to them to the Brahmins. For the merciless treatment meted out to the Buddhists by Mihiragula one may read the pages of Hiuen Tsang's itinerary. When the tyrant died, according to the Buddhist monks, he fell into the lowest abyss of hell for his massacres and destruction of the law of Buddha. Sasanka, the treacherous murderer of Harsha's brother, is also known for his persecution of the Buddhists. He was a worshipper of *Shiva*, hating Buddhism which he did his best to extirpate. He dug up and burnt the holy Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, on which, according to legend, Ashoka had lavished inordinate devotion, broke the stone bearing the footprints of Buddha at Pataliputra, destroyed the monasteries and convents and scattered the monks and nuns. Even the remote regions at the foot of the Nepalese hills did not escape the havoc. When the Muslims entered upon the scene they found that Buddhism had almost disappeared from the subcontinent. Wherever it still survived it had sunk into gross superstition, and its followers formed a depressed and persecuted community. A student of history cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the virtual extinction of Buddism from the land of its birth was the result of widespread and well-planned precautions by the Hindu priests and princes in the days of their ascendancy. Jainism suffered in a similar manner at their hands.

The Rise of the Rajputs

Much has been said about the origin of the Rajputs who succeeded in establishing their supremacy in the period of confusion that followed the death of Harsha. But most of what has been written on the subject is based on tradition and myth and is therefore unreliable. A more serious examination of this long disputed problem reveals the facts that the term "Rajput", as

applied to a social group, has no concern with race. The view generally accepted by the modern scholars is that most of the Rajput clans were descended from the numerous hordes of foreigners who entered the subcontinent from the north-west in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. In course of time these emigrants were merged in Hindu society and thus lost the basic features of their old tribal organisation. The ruling families and the upper classes became Rajputs or *Kshatriyas*, where the rank and file were admitted to castes of a lower social status, such as *Gujars*, *Jats*, *Ahirs*, ėtc.

Thus by the time the Muslims entered the subcontinent through the passes of the north-west, the political supremacy of the Rajputs had become so thoroughly established that the historians have often referred to these times as the Rajput period. They were ardent followers of Hinduism and did much to popularise its social structure in which they occupied an honoured place. They had developed peculiar notions of chivalry and nobility, and their strange conception of the honour of women was manifested in the cruel customs of the *jauhar* and *sati*. The Rajput princes had under them feudal chief's belonging to their own caste and enjoying a considerable degree of independence. These chiefs would build their castles in accessible places and maintain large retinues of soldiers and slaves to guard them. Public as well as private warfare had become the main feature of their political life. Rigorous caste distinctions had made the ruling class vain and proud, and rendered the rest of the population unfit for war. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the people to develop any feeling of common nationality. On the eve of its conquest by the Muslims the subcontinent was divided into numerous states and principalities, the more important of which find brief mention in the following paragraphs.

Kamrup (Assam)

The earliest historical reference to this State is to be found in Samudragupta's inscriptions which mention its ruler as one of the tributary princes of the frontier. In the time of Harsha it was ruled by a prince, called Bhashkaravarmana, who is stated to have entertained the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, at his court. In the thirteenth century it was conquered by the *Ahoms*, a Shan tribe from Burma, and remained in their possession for a long time. In 505 Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji invaded Tibet and conquered a considerable portion of Assam.

Bengal

The history of Bengal in the period following the death of Harsha is rather obscure. It was in these days of anarchy and confusion that Gopala was chosen by the people as their chief. He does not appear to have been a man of noble birth, although later writers have managed to discover a mythical origin for his dynasty. His son Dharmapala (770-785) is credited with a career of conquest and is stated to have expelled the ruler of Kanauj and placed his own nominee on the throne of that important State. He was an enthusiastic follower of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism and had built the famous monastery of Vikramsila (in Bhagalpur district). His son and successor, Devapala, was also a great warrior and is considered to be the greatest king of this dynasty. In the days of their decline the territory of the *Palas* was overrun by the *Rashtrakutas* who claim to have "bathed their horses where the Ganges enters the sea". Even after this reverse the dynasty lingered on for a long time until it finally collapsed in 1199.

The Senas

The origin of the *Senas* is not definitely known. The founder of the dynasty, Samantasena, was born in a family of "Brahmin-Kshatriyas", which suggests that he was of Brahmin origin but had taken to the *Kshatriya* profession of fighting. His grandson Vijayasena (1100-1165) may be regarded as the real founder of the Sena

power. He had to fight a number of wars against his neighbours to preserve the independence of his State. The last ruler of the dynasty was Lakhshmansena in whose time Bengal was invaded and conquered by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji with a handful of troops.

Kashmir

For the history of this State we have to depend mainly on Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* which was composed in the twelfth century and is therefore not reliable for the earlier period. In the eighth century Muktapida of the Karkota dynasty, who is also known as Lalitaditya, extended his frontiers by annexing a part of the territories of Kanauj, Tibet and other neighbouring states. In the middle of the next century this dynasty was supplanted by the *Upsalas*. Adantivarmana (855-83), the founder of the new dynasty, was an energetic ruler. He devoted himself to internal reform and patronised literature. His death was followed by a period of disorder which was brought to an end by Chakravarmana (936-37), but he was murdered soon after his accession by his own nobles because of his infatuation for a low caste dancing girl. In 939 this dynasty came to an end with the rise to power of a chief, named Yasaskara. His son and successor was completely under the influence of his wife, Didda, who continued to govern the State even after the death of her husband. A cruel and heartless woman, she is stated to have murdered at least three of his grandsons who could possibly challenge her claims to the throne. She was succeeded by her nephew who became the founder of the Lohara dynasty which lasted till 1172.

The thirteenth century was a period of weak rulers and civil wars. In the first quarter of the following century Kashmir was invaded by a Muslim army; and in 1339 it came under Muslim rule when Shah Mir ascended the throne with the title of Shams-ud-din Shah.

Kanauj

The capital of Harsha, which had now become the seat of the Pratihara branch of the *Gurjaras*, suffered considerably during this period of turmoil. We know very little of its history before the time of Yasovarmana who was defeated and slain by Lalitaditya of Kashmir in 740. In the early years of the ninth century Dharmapala, the ruler of Bengal, deposed the raja of Kanauj and placed his own nominee upon the throne, who in his turn, was expelled by Nagabhata II about 816. His grandson, Bhoja, enjoyed a long reign of about half a century (840-90) and ruled over an extensive territory.

His son, Mahendrapala, was able to keep intact the vast dominion of his father, but in the next reign the kingdom began to decline and Mahipala, the grandson of Bhoja, was severely defeated by Indra III, the *Rashtrakuta*, chief of the Deccan, who captured the capital itself. Mahipala was able to recover Kanauj but could not stop the disintegration of the State.

The collapse of the *Pratiharas* was followed by the rise of several dynasties. Ultimately the *Gaharwars* seized power and established their rule in the Gangetic plains. Govindachandra, who ascended the throne in 1112 and is considered to have been the greatest ruler of this dynasty, enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. His son, Vijayachandra (1155-1170), was succeeded by Jayachandra, who has been spoken of as a powerful prince by the Muslim writers. The romantic episode of the abduction of his daughter, Samayukta, by Prithviraja is a famous theme of bardic lays, and was the main cause of hostility between the two princes. In 1193 Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Mohammad bin Sam defeated Jayachandra at Chandwar and annexed his kingdom to his dominion.

Ajmer-Delhi

Another dynasty that came into prominence in the twelfth century was that of the *Chauhans* of Ajmer. One of them Vigrahraja is believed to have been the author of a drama. His nephew, Prithviraja, was the

greatest ruler of the dynasty. In 1182 his power and prestige were considerably enhanced by his victory over Chandel raja, but a few years later he was defeated and slain by Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam at the second battle of Tarain. The victorious Sultan appointed Prithviraja's illegitimate son to the governorship of Ajmer but it was not long before he was expelled by his uncle, Hariraja. Subsequently Ajmer was conquered by Qutb-ud-din Aibak and annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi.

Gujarat

In Gujarat power was held by a family of petty chieftains known as the *Chavadas*. The last of the *Chavadas* was slain by his own nephew and son-in-law, Mularaja, who laid the foundation of the Solanki dynasty. Mularaja was not only a great conqueror and builder but is also reported to have extended his patronage to scholars. He was succeeded by his son, Chamunda, but we have very little information about his reign. The next ruler, Durlabha, was followed on the throne by his nephew, Bhim I, in whose time Somnath was invaded by Sultan Mahmud. He died in 1064. Another notable prince of this dynasty was Diddharaja. On his death the kingdom of Gujarat passed into the hands of Kumarapala who belonged to another branch of the same family. After him the power of the *Solankis* was overthrown by the *Vagheles*. Visaldeva (1243-61) established his rule over the whole of Gujarat. The last ruler of this dynasty was Karnadeva who was defeated and expelled by the generals of Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khalji.

The brief account of the ascendancy of the Rajputs given above will help us to form a fairly correct idea of the political and social conditions on the eve of the Muslim conquest. It was essentially a period of stagnation. It was during this period that the caste system was established in its full rigour. Brahminism had certainly succeeded in crushing Buddhism, weakening Jainism and bringing within its fold countless hordes

of foreigners that had entered the subcontinent during this period. But along with the rapid growth of its wordly power and prestige the Brahmanical faith was fast losing the vitality of its moral and cultural foundations. In the pre-Harshan period the imperialistic regime of the Guptas had added considerably to the development of culture by making valuable contributions to art and literature. Then came a set-back which was the result of foreign invasions and anarchy. With the dawn of the seventh century there was again a change for the better, because Harsha's liberal policy in religious matters and his patronage of literature once more opened the doors of progress. Unfortunately this happy state of affairs lasted but for a short period of about half a century. The death of Harshavardhana once more threw the subcontinent into the abysmal darkness of religious fanaticism, political jealousies and social tyranny. Intellectual decay then set in. The mass of the people groaned under the tyranny of Brahmin predominance and Rajput feudalism. The arts decayed, government grew harsher, and the burden of taxes became almost intolerable. The bulk of the people were exploited and persecuted by the feudal lords and the priestly caste; their creative spirit was crushed and they laboured under a system which was reactionary and unprogressive.

CHAPTER XII

THE SOUTH : NEO-HINDUISM

Our sources of information about the early history of South India are extemely limited. We know only this much that there were several states in the south which were often at war with one another. Some of them played important role in the history of that reign. The three Tamil states lying in the extreme south were: Kerala in the west, Panday in the east, and Chola in the north. In the Deccan plateau also several dynasties held sway at different periods. The *Pallavas*, for instance, ruled the districts lying in the east, while the state of Kalinga comprised the territories now known as Orissa. The central part of the plateau was for some time in the hands of the *Chalukya* rajas. Their power was at a later period destroyed by the *Rashtrakutas* who established their own government and ultimately extended its authority over the entire area from Tanjore in the south to Gujarat and Malwa in the north. The *Rashtrakuta* princes were patrons of art and literature and the well-known Kailash temple of Ellora caves still stands as a testimony of their aesthetic taste. Similarly at one time the *Cholas* were also able to build up a powerful and extensive state. Under Raja Raja (985-1016) almost the entire territory of the Deccan and the far south owed allegiance to them. It may be mentioned here that the famous Vishnuite reformer, Ramanuja, had to go into exile owing to the persecutions of the *Cholas*.

Religious Conflict

Like its politics the religious life of the people of the south had also fallen into a state of disorder. It was marked by a deadly struggle for supremacy between the various creeds and schools of thought. Jainism and Buddhism had each held at one time a position of supremacy. The latter had spread from the subcontinent to the countries of Tibet, Ceylon, Burma and China and prospered there to such an extent that it ultimately became the national faith

of those countries. The rise of Buddhism had naturally inflicted a severe blow upon the position of Hinduism in general and the religious monopoly and ascendancy of the Brahmins in particular. Consequently the Brahmins, securing the cooperation of Hindu chiefs and rajas, began to crush Buddhism. But it was not an easy task to destroy a religion which had gained widespread popularity among the masses and had found its way into every corner of the subcontinent, from the Himalayas in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. It was for this reason that the struggle between them lasted for several centuries. The Brahmins strengthened the position of the rajas by giving their authority a religious colour; in return the rajas supported them in their struggle against Buddhism. The old traditions and ceremonies were revived, and Pulakesin II is stated to have celebrated the *ashwamedha*, which had been dead for centuries, in order to please the Brahmins.

The *Chalukyas* and *Pallaras* were enemies of each other but on the question of reviving Hinduism they held the same view. The most deplorable result of this long conflict between the two faiths was that the followers of Jainism and Buddhism suffered terrible persecutions at the hands of the Brahmins, and in many cases they were mercilessly put to death for refusing to change their religion. There are numerous cases of such killings recorded in the history of this period.

The reformers of Hinduism maintained that salvation could be attained by three different ways, namely, (1) *karma marga* or the path of action, (2) *giyan marga* or the path of knowledge and gnosticism, and (3) *bhakti marga*, or the path of love and devotion. Of these three systems the *karma marga* became most popular. Its followers believed that the essence of religion lay in the celebration of certain rites and in acting according to some prescribed methods. Those who believed in *giyan marga* said that the only way of attaining salvation lay in increasing knowledge, so that a man might know the

Real Truth. There are indications to the effect that some people followed the path of salvation. They held that man should kindle the fire of love in his heart to such an extent that the entire life could be devoted to love. This last method seem to have come into vogue comparatively at a later date, for in the earlier stages we find only dim traces of its existence. Salvation, according to Hindu philosophy, means deliverance from *awagavan* (or the chain of births and re-births). The doctrine of *awagavan* (transmigration) means that every animate being is re-born after death in some form or other and that this chain of re-births continues until the award of its deeds consummated. The sufferings and comforts of the new life are determined by the nature of its deeds in the previous one.

The believers in *karma marga* were mostly Shivaites and it was during this period that the worship of *Shiva* and *Vishnu* became popular in south India. The ideas of *bhakti marga* also appear to have been in existence, but the study of religious sciences was the monopoly of the *sadhus* and *pundits* only, and was not within the access of other people. Many sections of the common people were steeped in superstition and indulged in the worship of trees and animals.

Religious Reform

Uptil now all the important religious movements had started in the north and it was from there that new streams of religious beliefs and ideas flowed downwards and reached the territories of south India after crossing the Vindhiyas. But in the seventh and eighth centuries the direction of these streams is reversed, and the south becomes the fountain-head of revolutionary movements of religious reform. This change was brought about by two factors. The first reason was that in the post-Harsha period northern Hind-Pakistan had been split into a number of petty states, and political disintegration had barred the way to intellectual progress. The other reason was that the advent

of Islam had completely revolutionized the intellectual outlook of the south.

Advent of Islam

Even in the pre-Islamic days the Arabs had commercial contacts with the coastal territories of the subcontinent and had set up their colonies on its west coast. Islam added new vigour to their power of action, and Muslim Arab traders began to come to this land in ever-increasing numbers. Their ships started from the Red Sea and continued to move along the coast until they reached the ports of Hind-Pakistan, Malaya and China. The Muslims set up their colonies in Malabar and married in India, with the result that their population began to increase. They held the monopoly of sea-borne trade in the Indian Ocean, took the Indo-Pakistan commodities to the West and brought articles from there to this subcontinent. This trade brought enormous profits to the coastal states and consequently their rajas showed great regard to the Arab merchants. The character of the Arabs had been elevated by their conversion to Islam to such an extent that wherever they went they were received cordially and were held in great respects. In the coastal territories on the east and the west they were given the rights of purchasing land and settling permanently. They also carried on the work of preaching their faith to the people along with their mercantile business. The religious and political disorder in the south greatly facilitated their task, and the simple and charming ideas of Islam soon began to appeal to the people.

In the last years of the ninth century the raja of Kondangalpur (Malabar) accepted Islam and became so enthusiastic a follower of his new faith that he left Malabar to stay permanently in Arabia. Until recently the raja of Malabar, who bears the family title of zamorin (*samuri*) used to wear Arab dress at the time of his coronation, the ceremony being performed by a Moplah. The raja of Travancore, at the time

of his coronation, used to raise his sword and utter these words: "I shall keep this sword only up to the time of my uncle's return from Mecca." In short the Arabs had been able to establish a position of honour and respect of themselves in this subcontinent. Their trade was a source of great profit for the zamorin; they also helped him in his wars. The raja was so deeply affected by their noble character and activities that he not only allowed them to preach but actively encouraged their faith.

The Arabs had also been coming as traders, since pre-Islamic times to the territories of the eastern coast. From here they carried their wares to Indonesia, Malaya and China; hence they called this coast Ma'abar (or a place of crossing). It was through the efforts of these Arab traders that Islam was introduced to these parts of the subcontinent. The rajas of Ma'abar also treated them with consideration and exempted them from octroi and other taxes. The commodities of Hind-Pakistan were thus carried to the markets of Europe by the Arabs.

Preaching of the Faith

The Arab traders carried on missionary work side by side with their business. The most effective weapon of their preaching was the nobility of their character and conduct. Some of them were men of learning also. Consequently their contacts with this land and the establishment of their settlements made it possible for Islamic ideas to influence the religious and literary circles of the Hindus. Even those who did not accept the new Faith could not escape being influenced by its teachings. Gradually Hinduism itself began to be deeply influenced by Islam and its philosophy to be affected by fundamental Muslim beliefs. Some of the Islamic principles became so firmly rooted in the system of Hinduism that during the last eleven or twelve centuries they have again and again acted as the main cause of revolutionary reforms in that religion.

Influence of Islam

The basic tenet of Islam is *tauhid* (unity of God), and this undoubtedly is its most appealing aspect. In the medley of beliefs which constitute Hinduism the 'unity of God' idea can be faintly discerned. The Islamic conception of *tauhid* deeply influenced Hindu ideas, and some of the great Hindu thinkers laid much emphasis on it and abandoned other doctrines. *Tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) also gave some of its features to the system of Hinduism. An all-consuming love for the Divine Being is the essence of *tasawwuf;* the *sufi* turns his face away from the world and devotes himself to God alone; indeed he wants to merge his very self in the existence of God. The influence of these ideas can be seen very clearly in the *bhakti* movement. But the element of *bhakti* in Hinduism was very weak and in course of time its flames were completely extinguished by the growing influence of Brahmin ritualism. Buddhism and Jainism did not concern themselves, with the existence of God and, therefore, as far as their followers were concerned the question of divine love did not arise. Islam fanned the smouldering flames of *bhakti*, and in the course of subsequent centuries the entire region of the south began to resound with its songs, which expressed in exceedingly sweet words the feelings of divine love and the mental satisfaction which was attained through it. There arose a number of religious reformers who said that ritualism was a meaningless thing and the true path of salvation lay in *bhakti* alone. The influence of Islam was not confined to beliefs; it was to be seen as well in Hindu social life. Islam is a democratic faith; that is to say, all men are equal in its sight. But in Hindu society the laws of caste were rigorously observed. With the advent of Islam a milder attitude to the laws was adopted and not a few Hindu reformers opposed the caste system entirely.

Shankara Acharya

During the last fifteen hundred years perhaps no Hindu thinker has influenced the fundamental doctrines of Hinduism more deeply than Shankara

Acharya. He was born at the end of the eighth century in a Brahmin family in a village of Malabar. He was stilll a child when his father died. However, his mother made good arrangements for his education, and Shankara was able to acquire extensive knowledge even at an early stage of his life. He then left his home, became a *sanyasi* and spent some time studying with a *guru* on the banks of the Narbada. When he had completed his studies he travelled throughout the subcontinent holding disputations with the followers of the various sects and groups of Hinduism. He died young in the early years of the ninth century.

Before Shankara Acharya Hinduism had become an arena for different beliefs, superstitions and philosophical ideas, every kind of belief being present in it. Shankara proved by logical argument that this plurality of religious beliefs and sects was a source of disbelief. He tried to end this diffusion of ideas and to integrate Hindu beliefs into a complete system of thought, bringing them all to one common centre. One result of his efforts was that the Hindus made a combined and decisive attempt to expel Buddhism from this subcontinent.

The influence of Islam on the ideas of Shankara Acharya is quite clear. He made *tauhid* the most important of his fundamental principles and explained to the people that the Hindu scriptures contained this doctrine, and that all those who had ignored it and taken to other ways had committed a mistake in understanding that religion. In his ideas we can see a tinge of *tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) also. He says that in the entire universe there is no existence other than that of God and whatever we see in this world is *maya* or a delusion of our sight and thought. In reality all is *Brahma* (God). Owing to our ignorance and short-sightedness we see the manifestations of "*maya*" and take them for realities. If we attain true knowledge, this *talisman* of *maya* will break and we shall see *Brahma*, who is the Real Existence. He is free

from attributes. This conception of God is so abstruse that it is beyond the comprehension of the ordinary man. Therefore Shankara presented another conception of God for this world of *maya* and called it *Ishwara*, who has attributes and therefore can reward or punish the people according to their deeds.

Bhakti Movement

In the time of Shankara Acharya, and even before his birth, Hinduism had begun to show signs of a new tendency. This was *bhakti*, which has already been mentioned. It was an attractive innovation for the common people, since it brought men nearer to God through emotion. For an ordinary man it was difficult to establish any emotional relationship with the conception of God that was presented by Shankara. Contrary to this conception the God of *bhakti* was a Being who loved and could be loved.

Shivaism

Influenced by Islam the worshippers of *Shiva* and *Vishnu* considerably helped the growth of *bhakti*. They composed countless songs (*bhajans*) of *bhakti* which became very popular among the common people.

Vaishnavism

Ramanuja has the largest share in securing popularity for the Vaishnava faith. He was born near Madras in 1016. His first teacher was a person who believed in Shankara's ideas. Ramanuja was opposed to Shankara's school of thought and the consequent differences of opinion between teacher and pupil led him to study under another *guru*. When he finished studying under the *guru* he wrote several commentaries on the *Vendanta* and, like Shankara Acharya, began to travel the subcontinent. The Chola raja wanted him to renounce Vaishnavism and accept Shivaism, but he did not agree to this and left the raja's territories.

Ramanuja differed fundamentally from Shankara Acharya in his teachings. Ramanuja's God is *Brahma* as well as *Ishwara*. He has the finest of attributes. The human soul is immortal and eternal and is in fact a shadow of *Brahma*. In order to

reach *Brahma* it has to adopt the path of *bhakti.* Ramanuja proved the *bhakti* doctrine by *Vedanta.* He showed some consideration to the *Shudras* and the untouchables and allowed them to enter the temples on certain fixed days of the year. He even personally preached his doctrines to some of the *Shudras.*

PART III

Muslim Rule (Section I)

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

The Rise of Islam

Islam swept off the mouldering debris of decaying systems and put in their place a civilization which still pulsates with life and vigour. Its teachings, even today, are capable of bringing peace and harmony to a weary world.

The founder of this great religion was Muḥammad, who brought about a revolution unparalleled in history. This illiterate son of the desert received a new dispensation which brought a message of hope and comfort to mankind. Arabia, which hitherto had remained in the backwaters of world movements and had played no direct part in the affairs of humanity, suddenly woke up from her slumbers at the clarion call of this great man.

The Holy Prophet and his Mission

The Prophet Muḥammad was born in A. C. 570 at Mecca and belonged to the eminent tribe of *Quraish*. Early in his life he acquired a great reputation for his noble character and generous disposition. He was looked upon as the friend of the poor and the needy. His outstanding honesty won him the name of *al-Amin*, "the trusted one."

Yet, inwardly he was unhappy. He found his people steeped in ignorance and vice. They indulged in robbery, drinking, gambling, infanticide and idolatory.

He was forty years old when he was ordained an apostle by God to preach His indivisible unity to mankind. The *Quraish*, who derived much of their income from the annual pilgrimage to the *Ka'bah* which contained 360 idols, persecuted him and his faithful followers for rejecting their deities. In 622, therefore, he was compelled to migrate to Medina where the

ground had already been prepared for his message. The migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina is known as the *Hijrat* and marks the beginning of the Muslim era.

Even at Medina his Meccan adversaries did not allow him any rest. They attacked him repeatedly, but were always discomfited. When at last the truce of Hudaibiyah was violated by the *Quraish* the Prophet marched on Mecca, which he occupied without resistance. The enemies who had so cruelly persecuted him and his followers were readily forgiven and a general amnesty was extended to the citizens. Never in the annals of conquest has a triumphal entry been so peaceful. Struck by his generosity the Meccans accepted Islam, and the *Ka'bah* was cleared of all idols.

By now his mission had succeeded so well that the Arabs from all over the country came flocking to join his *Faith*. On the occasion of his last pilgrimage to Mecca the following verse was revealed to him by God:—

اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتى ورضيت
لكم الاسلام دينا

His mission being fulfilled, the end of his mortal life drew near.

In the year 632 he departed from this world. He had brought about an unparalleled revolution in the moral life of his people and changed the very current of human thought. With him begins the modern age, characterised by the liberation of the human mind from the shackles of superstition and his mastery over the forces of nature.

The Teachings of Islam

The *Qur'an*, which was revealed to the Prophet at different period of his life and on different occasions, embodies the teaching of Islam, which means literally "the religion of submission to the will of God". They are in consonance with human reason and laws of nature. They breathed a spirit of kindliness, generosity and brotherhood, and are essentially simple. The entire structure of the teaching

of Islam is based on the fundamental conception of the *Unity of God.* Islam forbids all manners of coercion in matters of faith and enjoins tolerance, fellow-feeling, brotherhood and generosity towards all mankind.

Main Features of Islamic Society

The teachings of the Prophet worked a mighty change in the lives of the Arabs. They laid aside their petty feuds and were welded into one great community. They discarded their old vices and dedicated themselves to the service of the one true God. They acquired all virtues which make human life great and noble. The entire society was transformed, and there arose a fraternity of people which was imbued with the ideals of tolerance, social justice and equality. Their dealings with their non-Muslim neighbours were not merely just but generous. Inspired by the change in their lives wrought by their faith, they set forth as its enthusiastic but peaceful missionaries. Their efforts were crowned with unique success.

The Expansion of Islam

A united Arabia was a thorn in the flesh of the Byzantine and Sasanian Empires, which bordered upon it. From time to time their armies would make inroads into the Arabian territory. This compelled Haḍrat Abu Bakr, who had succeeded the Holy Prophet as the head of the Commonwealth, to cross swords with these mighty empires. Though ill-equipped and outnumbered, the Muslims carried everything before them by force of sheer courage and determination, born of devotion to their new Faith. Under Haḍrat 'Umar, Syria, Egypt and Persia were completely conquered, and the Muslims were found battering against the frontiers of Sind.

It was not merely a material conquest but also a conquest of the spirit. Islam came as a liberator of the people who had been living under the tyrannies of social and political inequities. Most of them readily accepted the simple creed of Islam. Those who wanted to adhere to their old faiths were generously treated and were given the fullest religious liberty.

In the time of the Umayyad caliph, al-Walid (705-715), his general, Musa bin Nuṣair, subjugated the whole of North Africa while his lieutenant, Ṭariq, captured the fair country of Andalusia (Spain). In the east, the Muslim general, Qutaibah, penetrated far into Central Asia. At this very time circumstances led to the conquest of Sind by Muḥammad bin Qasim, the nephew and son-in-law of Ḥajjaj, the able Governor of Iraq.

Causes of the Arab Invasion

The Brahmin rulers of Sind had sent their legions to help the Persians against the Muslims. During the governorship of Ḥajjaj some Arab rebels had crossed the border into Sind and taken shelter with Raja Dahir. The immediate cause of invasion, however, was provided by the plunder of some ships carrying the families of Arabs who had died in Ceylon and the gifts sent by the ruler of that island for the caliph, by the pirates of Daibul, then a flourishing port of Sind. Ḥajjaj, hearing of this atrocity, addressed a strong protest to Raja Dahir, requiring him to punish the culprits and restore the gifts and the captives. Dahir treated the matter with contempt and refused to take action. Ḥajjaj, thereupon, decided to chastise the Raja and obtained permission from the caliph to despatch an army to conquer Sind. His nephew and son-in-law, 'Imad-ud-din Muḥammad bin Qasim, a youth of seventeen, who had distinguished himself as a fighter and administrator, was put at the head of this army, which consisted of 6,000 picked Syrian and Iraqi soldiers, an equal number of well-equipped camel riders, and a baggage-train of 3,000 Bactrian camels. The force had been equipped with great foresight.

The Arabs had with them *manjaniqs* or catapults which were used for bombarding fortresses with large stone and metal balls. The largest of them was called '*Arus* (bride) and was worked by 500 men. With this equipment Muḥammad bin Qasim marched against Daibul through Makran.

Muhammad bin Qasim's Campaign

On learning that garrison believed that there was a talisman under the huge red flag which flew from the steeple of a temple in the centre of the city, Muḥammad bin Qasim issued orders that the flag should at once be made the target of the '*Arus*' (the bride). The fall of the supposedly magical flag completely demoralized the defenders who were thoroughly routed. The city now laid at the mercy of its conquerors; but their youthful leader not only prevented unnecessary bloodshed but treated the inhabitants with consideration and generosity. He laid out a quarter for the Muslims and entrusted the defence of the city to an small garrison. He then marched on Nirun, a well-known town on the west bank of the Indus. When he reached its vicinity a deputation of Buddhist priests attended on him and produced a letter of pardon and protection from Ḥajjaj. The city was consequently occupied without any loss of life. As in Daibul the Muslims made necessary arrangements for their settlement and constructed a mosque. The next town to be captured was Sehwan which also surrendered without resistance. From Sehwan he proceeded towards Sisam and crushed the opposition of the Jats. In the meantime Raja Dahir had assembled a strong army consisting of 50,000 horse and taken shelter behind the walls of the strongly defended fort of Rawar. Muhammad bin Qasim, who had received peremptory orders to meet the main force of the enemy, lost no time in returning to Nirun and crossed the river immediately in spite of the oppressive heat of June and an incessant shower of arrows from the other side. The opposition to the crossing of the river offered by the enemy was easily overcome, and the Muslims found themselves face to face with the biggest force that they had encountered so far. For four days fighting continued without any decisive result; but on the fifth, which was the 10th of *Ramadan*, Raja Dahir, surrounded by an imposing array of elephants, led the charge in person. The Muslim soldiers, undaunted by the

superior numbers and equipment of the enemy, resisted the charge with remarkable courage. Dahir's elephant was struck by an arrow and took to flight. However, he continued fighting on foot till he was overpowered and slain by an Arab soldier. The Muslims now besieged the fortress and captured it without much difficulty.

After his victory at Rawar, Muḥammad bin Qasim proceeded to Brahmanabad which was an important town in those days. Its site has been located at a distance of about forty-five miles from Hyderabad near Shahdadpur. As the Muslim army approached Dahir's son fled leaving the town to be defended by his chiefs. Being unable to stand the pressure of a regular siege they surrendered unconditionally. Muḥammad bin Qasim entered the city in triumph and, in keeping with his traditional policy, granted amnesty to all non-combatants. Here he halted for some time to recognize the administration of the conquered territories on a sound footing. The basic principles of his administrative system were justice and tolerance. The non-Muslims were given complete freedom of religion, and some of temples which had been damaged in war were repaired at government expense. The Brahmins continued to enjoy their old rights and privileges. Hindus were freely employed by the new government, particularly in the revenue department. Even the minister of Raja Dahir was re-appointed to his former post.

After setting these affairs at Braḥmanabad, Muḥammad bin Qasim resumed his military campaign and marched on Aror where the son and wife of the late Raja Dahir had taken shelter. But when the Muslim forces reached the vicinity of the town they fled towards Chitor, and the garrison surrendered the keys of the fort without even a show of resistance. The next important town to be conquered was Multan. It offered strong resistance but was ultimately captured. The news of Hajjaj's

death brought this career of conquest to an end and Muḥammad bin Qasim was forced to return to Aror.

End of Muhammed bin Qasim's Career

When al-Walid died, he was succeeded by his brother, Sulaiman, whose nomination al-Walid had tried to prevent. In this endeavour he had been supported by Ḥajjaj and Muḥammad bin Qasim. Ḥajjaj was now dead. Muḥammad bin Qasim incurred the wrath of the new caliph and was imprisoned and tormented to dealth.

Thus perished in the bloom of youth the great hero who had, in the brief space of three years, conquered Sind and established the caliph's sway on the soil of Pakistan. His death was deeply mourned in Sind, and the people of Kiraj set up a statue in his memory.

The Effects of the Conquest of Sind

Some writers have minimized the importance of the Arab conquest of Sind. This view is incorrect and uncritical. The exact extent of Arab conquest is difficult to determine; it seems certain, however, that the Arab arms were carried far beyond the borders of the present province of Sind. Some scholars are inclined to believe that the Arab armies subsequently penetrated as far as Malwa and Gujarat. Moreover, in the domain of culture and civilization, this contact with Islam had far-reaching effects on our history. The Muslims had already achieved a prominent place among the peoples of the world and their coming provided the people of the subcontinent with immense opportunities for commercial and cultural progress.

The people of Sind, like so many other nations before them, willingly accepted the faith of Islam, and in course of time it became one of the predominantly Muslim areas of this subcontinent. Multan gradually rose to the position of an international city, and was for many centuries the biggest centre of cultural and commercial activities in this part of the world. Thus, it was in Sind that the foundations of Muslim rule and

administration in Hind-Pakistan were laid, and it was from here that the influence of Islam spread into other parts of the subcontinent. The Arabs had by now assimilated and developed the cultures of such ancient peoples as the Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, Mesopotamians and Persians. This noble heritage was now brought into contact with Hindu civilization and culture. With their enthusiasm for knowledge the Arabs studied the Hindu sciences and adapted some of them for their own use. They took, for instance, the Hindu system of notation and passed it on to the world in the form in which it is known today as 'Arabic numerals'.

CHAPTER XIV

THE YAMINI DYNASTY OF GHAZNI

The Rise of the Ghaznavi Empire

In the beginning of the tenth century A.C., Central Asia, Afghanistan and the eastern part of Persia were in the possession of the Samani dynasty. Bukhara was their capital. Alptigin, a slave of one of these Samani princes, founded the kingdom of Ghazni in 963 A.C. His son and two slaves succeeded him, one after the other, and in the year 977 A.C. Subuktigin, another of his slaves, sat on the throne.

Subuktigin (977-997 A.C.)

Relations had been strained between the Muslims and the Hindu-Shahi rulers of the Panjab for a long time. The reason was that the Hindu dynasty viewed with disfavour the growth of Muslim power. Waihind was the seat of government of this ruling family. It was situated on the bank of the river Indus, a few miles above Attock.

Jaipal, the raja of Waihind, realising the growing danger to his own kingdom from the rise of Subuktigin, advanced with a huge army upon Ghazni to give battle to him. Jaipal suffered defeat, but asked for peace and obtained his release by offering ten lakhs of rupees, fifty elephants and part of his territory upto Lamghan (Jalalabad). Besides, he left some of his relations as hostages with Subuktigin. But soon after reaching his country he violated the pact and imprisoned Subuktigin's officers who had accompanied him to realise the war indemnity. Immediately after receiving this news, Subuktigin attacked the territory of Lamghan and seized a number of forts.

Jaipal now called upon a number of Hindu rajas to join him and again advanced with a huge army upon Ghazni. Subuktigin, too, came out to meet Jaipal who again suffered a signal defeat. Subuktigin annexed Lamghan and all the

territory up to Peshawar. After making arrangements for the preaching and spread of Islam in that land he returned to Ghazni.

Subuktigin fell ill at Balkh and started for Ghazni to recuperate his health, but while on his way he died in August 997.

Subuktigin was a popular king. He left four sons behind him, namely Maḥmud, Isma'il, Nasr and Yusuf. He had married Maḥmud to a daughter of the Farighun dynasty which in its turn was related to the Samanis. Subuktigin's object in arranging this match was to strengthen his position. In personal character he was steady, patient, kind and generous. He had become so powerful towards the closing years of his life that the neighbouring rulers were anxious to make friends with him.

Sultan Mahmud bin Subuktigin (998-1030 A.C.)

Before his death Subuktigin appointed Isma'il, his younger son, as successor. Maḥmud who was at Herat at the time was the best among his brothers so far as personal accomplishments were concerned. He could not brook the idea that Ghazni should not be in his possession. He made an offer to Isma'il to exchange Ghazni for the province of Khurasan. However, Isma'il turned down this offer. Mahmud was, therefore, compelled to attack Ghazni in March 998 A.C. Fighting continued all through the day, but before sunset Isma'il's army fled from the field and he surrendered himself to Maḥmud, who now took possession of Ghazni.

The Samanids acknowledged Maḥmud's suzerainty over the lands of Balkh, Herat, Tirmiz and Bust, but refused to acknowledge his authority over Khuraṣan. However, after some time Maḥmud obtained Khurasan by force of arms. He wrote to al-Qadir Billah, the caliph of Baghdad, informing him of his conquest. The caliph conferred upon him the title of *Yamin-ud-Daula-Aminul Millat.* Meanwhile Ilak Khan occupied

Bukhara, taking all the members of the royal family as prisoners. Thus the Samanid dynasty came to an end.

When Maḥmud was absent on an expedition against Multan in 1006 A.C., Ilak Khan seized the province of Khurasan. On receiving this information Maḥmud marched straight to Balkh and within a few months he had driven the enemy out of Khurasan. But Ilak Khan again prepared for war and attacked Balkh. The two armies met in January 1008 A.C., and Ilak Khan was defeated after severe fighting.

The Saljuqs

Maḥmud conquered Ghuzistan in 1012 A.C. and Khwarazm in 1017 A.C. from which place he brought with him the world-famous scholar Abu Riḥan al-Biruni to Ghazni.

A tribe of Ghuzz Turks had settled down in Bukhara under its chief, Saljuq, at the close of the tenth century A.C. When Maḥmud led an expedition against Transoxiana in 1025 A.C. Israil, the chief of the Saljuqs, was taken prisoner. The Saljuqs begged Sultan Maḥmud to allow them to settle down in Khurasan because in Bukhara and Khurasan they were subjected to much cruelty and oppression. Against the considered advice of his courtiers, Maḥmud allowed them to settle, but by way of precaution he did not allow them to possess arms. The Sultan soon had to pay dearly for this error. After some time they rose in rebellion, and although unwell, Maḥmud marched against them in 1028 A.C. Thousands of them were taken prisoner; the remainder fled to the hills for shelter. But shortly after the Sultan's death they regained their power and became a permanent menace to the house of Ghazni itself.

The Sultan annexed the territories of Sistan and Ghor. He also added to his possessions all the land in Persia as far as Ray, which was situated near modern Teheran. After Maḥmud's return from Ray, his son, Mas'ud, conquered Hamadan and Isfahan also.

Expeditions against Hind Pakistan

It seems that war with the Hindu-Shahi dynasty had come to Maḥmud in inheritance. Merely in self-defence he had to fight this dynasty close to his own frontier. But in course of time it became clear that the Hindu-Shahis and the Muslims could not live in peace. Jaipal's son, Anandpal, the raja of Waihind, made elaborate preparations to fight Maḥmud, inviting a large number of Hindu rulers in the north to join him. This information reached Maḥmud in winter. Without delay and unmindful of the severity of winter, Maḥmud moved with his forces from Ghazni on the last day of December 1008 A.C. He crossed the Indus and arranged his army in battle order. The Hindus fought with grim determination, but at the right moment Maḥmud sent a detachment of his army which attacked the Hindus in the rear. To meet this attack the Hindus wheeled round, but were thrown into disorder and fled in utter confusion. Maḥmud followed close upon their heels as far as Kangra and reduced that stronghold after a few day's siege. Muslim historians speak of this fort as Nagarkot and recount how it yielded untold riches for Maḥmud. He returned to Ghazni in June 1009 A.C. after appointing necessary officers to keep the fort.

Anandpal set up his government after this defeat at Nandana in a hilly region which was difficult of access. He died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by Trilochanpal, his son. Nandana is situated in the Jhelum district, overlooking the road to India and was considered a very strong fort. Maḥmud attacked the town in March 1014 A.C. Trilochanpal, however, went off to Kashmir, leaving the defence of the place in the hands of his son, Bhim. Returning with the army of the raja of Kashmir Trilochanpal came within easy distance of Jhelum. Maḥmud defeated Bhim, seized Nandana, and then started for Jhelum. Tanga, commander of the Kashmir State forces, fled after the first attack and did not draw his reins until he had reached

Kashmir. Trilochanpal tried to fight with what forces he had at his command but suffered defeat. In October 1014 A.C. Maḥmud attacked Thanesar which was then included in the kingdom of Trilochanpal, and occupied it despite enemy resistance. This victory brought the entire Punjab into the Sultan's realm, but he sensed danger from the attitude of the neighbouring rajas. He, therefore, decided to reduce their power and consolidate his authority in the Punjab.

Maḥmud left Ghazni on September 27, 1018 A.C. accompanied by an army consisting of 11,000 regular forces and 20,000 volunteers. He crossed the Jumna, captured a number of towns and reached Baran (Bulandshahr), whose Hindu ruler submitted and embraced Islam along with 10,000 of his followers. He next proceeded to Mathura, where the local raja handed over the city without any resistance. Marching from Mathura he appeared before Kanauj on December 20th, 1018 A.C. The raja, Rajpal, had already fled from the city. Maḥmud captured the fort of Kanauj on his way back to Ghazni. He conquered several other forts and reached Ghazni towards the end of January 1019 A.C.

Two years after this Maḥmud returned to India with the intention of capturing Kalinjar in 1021 A.C. After accepting the submission of the raja of Gwalior he advanced upon and laid siege to Kalinjar. This place was considered to be impregnable. But its ruler, Raja Ganda, also begged for peace and offered to pay annual tribute. Ganda recited a few Hindi verses in praise of the Sultan, who was so pleased that he restored much of the conquered territory to the raja besides conferring on him many other rewards. After this he returned to Ghazni in 1023 A.C.

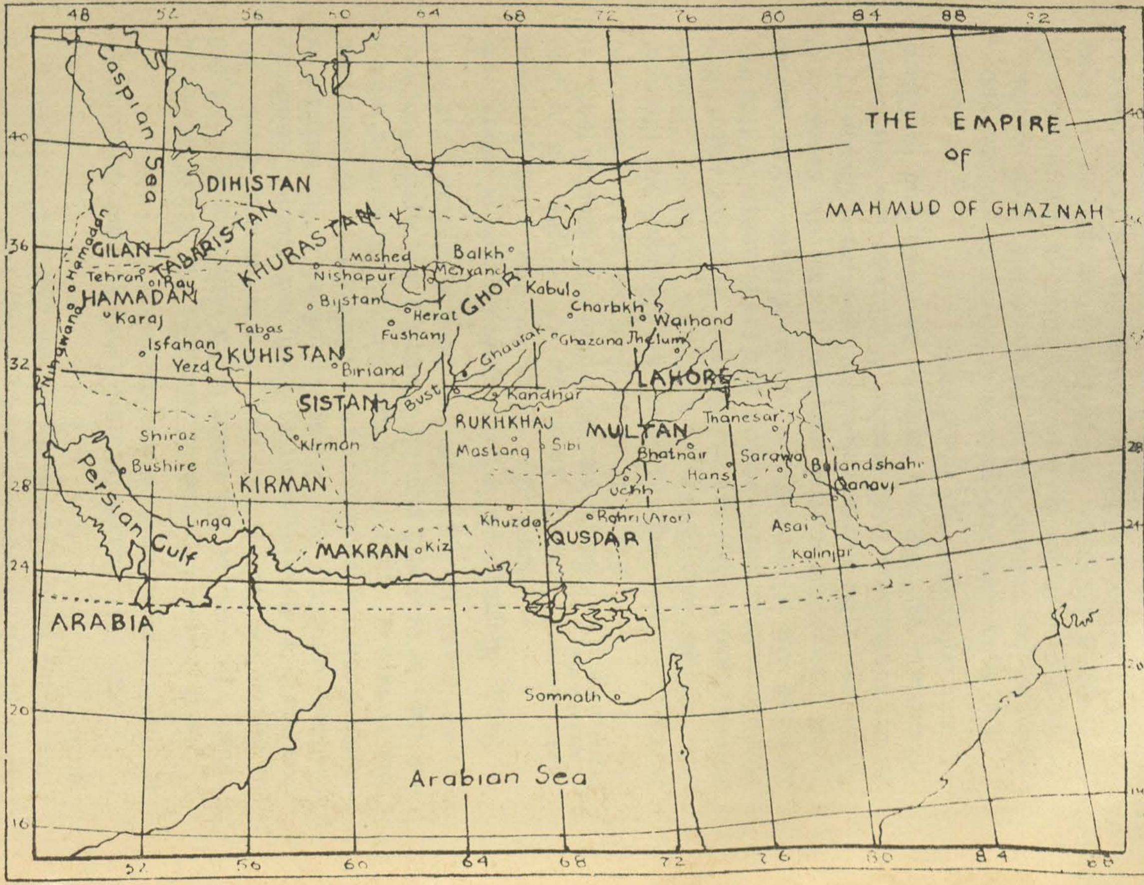
Conquest of Somnath

The Hindus believed that Maḥmud's success was due to the displeasure of the Somnath god with the inhabitants of the defeated territories. When the Sultan heard this he decided to conquer

Somnath and started from Ghazni in October 1025 A.C. After crossing the desert of Rajputana and defeating various rajas he arrived at Anhilwara (Patna). Despairing of his ability to fight the raja fled. The Sultan's advance was checked at Mandher, though the Hindus suffered defeat. Marching from this place the Sultan reached Somnath on the 6th of January, 1026 A.C. When the Sultan appeared before the city, the Brahmin priests scoffed at the invaders from the city walls. They believed that the god of Somnath had attracted the Sultan and his army to that place to destroy them all and thus to avenge the desecration of other holy places. The governor of the fort, who was unwilling to fight escaped, but his army fought bravely. After two days' severe fighting, the Muslims occupied the fort. The Hindus repeatedly implored their god to help them but were unable to inflict any losses on the Muslims. Eventually they lost heart and their stronghold fell.

The temple contained *Shiva's lingum* which was broken by the orders of the Sultan. The treasures obtained from this temple were estimated to be worth two crores of *dinars*. The Sultan stayed at Somnath for fifteen days. On the way back ignorance of the route, the mischief of a Hindu guide and the hostility of the Jats added to his troubles, causing many of his soldiers to perish. He reached Ghazni on 3rd April, 1026 A.C.

The Somnath expedition is an outstanding military feat in the annals of Islam. Maḥmud's success sent a thrill of joy through the Islamic world. The Caliph of Baghdad expressed his delight by conferring titles upon the Sultan, his sons and brothers. Authors and poets vied with each other in praising this victory. It is worthy of notice that Bharat has recently spent vast sums on the repair and restoration of the temple at Somnath. But the present temple does not stand at the site which its predecessor occupied in the time of Maḥmud. The foundations of the original temple have vanished under the



THE EMPIRE OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNAH
Caspian Sea
DIHISTAN
TABARISTAN
KHURASTAN
GILAN
Tehran
Ray
HAMADAN
Karaj
Mashed
Nishapur
Bistan
Balkh
Meryand
GHOR
Kabul
Charbkh
Waihand
Herat
Fushanj
Tabas
Isfahan
Yezd
KUHISTAN
Biriand
Ghazana
Jhelum
LAHORE
SISTAN
Bust
Kandhar
RUKHKHAJ
MULTAN
Thanesar
Shiraz
Bushire
Kirman
Mastang
Sibi
Bhatnair
Sarawa
Bolandshahr
Hansi
Qanauj
Uchh
KIRMAN
Persian Gulf
Linga
Khuzdar
Rohri (Aror)
Asai
MAKRAN
Kiz
QUSDAR
Kalinjar
ARABIA
Somnath
Arabian Sea

waters of the Arabian sea. The recently restored temple was built by the Hindus at a later date and near the site of the original.

In 1027 A.C., Sultan Maḥmud invaded Sind and administered severe punishment to the Jats.

As the result of constant hardships the Sultan developed pthisis. In spite of the advice of his physicians he continued to observe his daily routine and perform the same duties. He continued to hold his court as usual, and received visitors in audience twice a day. During the period of his sickness he marched against the Saljuqs and drove them out of Khurasan. But eventually weakness confined him to his bed and after a few days he died at 5 p.m. on Thursday, 30th April, 1030 A.C. He was buried in *Bagh-i-Firuzi* at the time of 'Isha prayers.

Sultan Mahmud's Character and Personality

Sultan Mahmud had a great regard for men of letters. He knew the *Quran* by heart, and possessed expert knowledge of *Hadith.* It is said that he was the author of a standard work on *fiqh.* He was a great patron of scholars and artists, and highly valued their work. His court was thronged with scholars and poets, among whom, Firdausi, 'Unṣuri, Farrukhi and 'Asjadī are well-known. When he heard of a man of letters he would summon him to his court. In this way he called Abu Riḥan al-Biruni, author of *Kitab al-Hind* and an expert mathematician and astrologer, after the conquest of Khwarazm. He also established an Academy at Ghazni whose library contained a large number of precious and rare books. Whenever a new city was captured he would send to Ghazni any rare books that were found there.

The Sultan was very strict in observing his religious duties, saying his prayers and reciting the *Quran* with great regularity. He fixed stipends for the Beduins in Ḥijaz, so that they should not harass the pilgrims. He adopted proper measures to bring about a truly moral and religious awakening among his subjects

He had the zeal necessary for spreading Islam. Under him mosques were built and preachers were appointed in all conquered lands to invite men to embrace Islam. He never forced any non-Muslim to accept Islam. On the contrary, he treated the Hindus with particular toleration. He had set aside for them a quarter at Ghazni where they performed their religious duties with the utmost freedom.

Sultan Maḥmud was the embodiment of courage and self-reliance. All through his life he laboured hard and was never upset by dangers. On the field of battle he would always fight in the first rank and is stated to have received no less than seventy-two wounds in various battles. While besieging Multan he fought so bravely and slew so many of the enemy's tried soldiers that his hand stuck to the hilt of his sword on account of the drying blood of the slain. By his personal courage he could create confidence and zeal among his soldiers even in depressing situations.

He was gifted by nature with a remarkable military skill. He was himself the supreme commander of his forces. His splendid victories in the east wiped the glories of Alexander's exploits from men's minds. His authority was established from Iraq to the Ganges, and from Khwarazm to Kathiawar. He remained busily engaged in fighting for thirty-three years. He had become used to hardships by continuously touring the frontiers of his huge empire. Intense heat or cold and other hardships of nature did not stand in the way of his will to conquer.

Maḥmud's critics say that he was a conqueror but paid no attention to the building up of his empire. It is said that, large as his conquests were in this subcontinent, he did not lay the foundation of a lasting empire. This criticism is utterly wrong. The Sultan's aim was to conquer the entire territory of his old enemies—the Hindu-Shahis—and to destroy their power; and he certainly succeeded in achieving this object. The neighbouring

chiefs who were unfriendly to him were put down and removed, and in their place he brought others who could be trusted for their loyalty and cooperation. His rule was so firmly established in the Punjab that when his family had to leave Ghazni, they were able to take refuge at Lahore.

Sultan Maḥmud was keenly interested in architecture. He built a great mosque at Ghazni which was a fine specimen of workmanship. Attached to the mosque were a library and a college. The day-to-day expenses as well as the stipends to students and the salaries of the teachers came from endowments made by the Sultan. He spent huge sums of money on the improvement of Ghazni and the provincial capitals and on other works of public welfare. His minaret at Ghazni, which is of the same type as the *Qutb Minar*, is 144 ft. high. It is situated on the site of old Ghazni. Another building of those days is the Sultan's tomb which lies in a village at a distance of two miles from Ghazni. The village itself is named *Rauda-i-Sultan*. The building of the tomb is new, but the sarcophagus is old.

Abu Sa'id Masud (1030-1042 A. C.)

After Maḥmud's death his son, Muḥammad, ascended the throne, but when he marched against his brother, Mas'ud, his officers imprisoned and blinded him and then went over to Mas'ud, who thus had the entire empire to himself.

Mas'ud had not long been on the throne when Niyaltigin, governor of Lahore, rebelled. Mus'ud sent against him a Hindu officer named Tilak. Niyaltigin was defeated and fled towards Sind, but was drowned while crossing the river. The forts of Hansi and Sonipat were later captured by Mas'ud himself.

On his return to Ghazni, Mas'ud came to know that the Saljuq menace had increased beyond measure. He attacked them in 1040 A.C. but was defeated and escaped back to Ghazni with great difficulty. He then handed over the various provinces

of his empire to his sons and himself started for Lahore with a huge treasure in 1042. But while he was on his way, his slaves plundered his treasure and hurled him down a well which they filled up with stones.

Sultan Mas'ud was generous, brave and courteous. He liked the company of the learned. Many authors of the day dedicated their works to him. Abu Rihan al-Biruni named his famous work on astronomy *Qanun-i-Mas'udi* after his name.

The Later Ghaznavids

The nobles once again put Muhammad on the throne after Mas'ud's death. But shortly after this, Mas'ud's son Maudud on hearing of this event marched against him. Muhammad lost the day and was taken to prisoner.

Taking advantage of this internal strife, the Hindu rajas re-captured Hansi, Thanesar and Kangra forts, and even besieged Lahore. But they were beaten and routed by the Muslims of Lahore. Maudud died in 1045.

The Saljuqs became so strong that Isfahan, Ray, Tabaristan and Khurasan etc. were lost by the house of Ghazni. Bahram Shah, a ruler of this dynasty, committed the blunder of poisoning *Malik-ul-Jibal* (king of mountains), Qutb-ud-din Muhammad who had fallen out with his brothers and come to Ghazni. His brother, 'Ala-ud-din Husain, avenged his death by attacking Ghazni. Bahram Shah fled. 'Ala-ud-din ordered Ghazni to be plundered and ravaged for a whole week; libraries, places and even mosques were burnt down. Not only men but even women and children were put to the sword. The graves of Subuktigin's descendants were dug open and their bones consigned to flames. The only graves that were spared this treatment were those of Mahmud, Mas'ud and Ibrahim. 'Ala-ud-din is remembered in history as *Jahan-soz* (burner of the world) for the destruction wrought by him. Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad, a nephew of 'Ala-ud-din established Islamic rule in Hind-Pakistan

permanently. Bahram Shah was a lover of pomp and show. He was devoutly attached to learned men, scholars and *darvishes.* He patronised men of letters, and many of the writers of his reign dedicated their works to him. Hakim Sanai was the most famous poet of his reign.

The Ghaznavids later moved to Lahore, where Bahram's son, Khusrau Shah, and grandson, Khusrau Malik, ruled for some time. But Mu'izz-ud-din Muḥammad bin Sam repeatedly attacked their kingdom, seizing Peshawar, Multan and Sialkot. Eventually, in 1186, he attacked Lahore. Khusrau Malik retired within the fort and sued for peace. But as he came out of the fort to meet Mu'izz-ud-din Muḥammad, he was taken captive and kept a prisoner in a fort in Ghor. Thus ended the glorious house of Ghazni.

CHAPTER XV

SULTAN MU'IZZ-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD BIN SAM

Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din

An account of 'Ala-ud-din Jahansoz has already been given in the last chapter. His nephew, Ghiyath-ud-din Maḥmud, succeeded his cousin, Saif-ud-din. He entrusted the government of some provinces to his younger brother and then occupied himself with the task of strengthening his sultanate. In 1174 A.C. Ghiyath-ud-din attacked Ghazni and captured it after defeating the Ghuzz. He placed its government in the hands of his younger brother, Muhammad, and returned to his capital at Firuz Koh. In 1192 A.C. Sultan Jalal-ud-din Maḥmud Khwarazm Shah took Merv.

Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din died at Herat in 1202 A.C. The relations of the two brothers had been very happy. Ghiyath-ud-din had even in his own life time conferred upon his younger brother. Muḥammad, the title of Shihab-ud-din together with sovereign powers over the territories that he governed. The younger brother, however, did nothing without consulting his elder brother and always obeyed his orders as long as he was alive. At the time of his coronation Muḥammad assumed the title of Mu'izz-ud-din instead of Shihab-ud-din.

Muhammad bin Sam's Campaigns

In 1175 Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din marched through Baluchistan and attacked Multan. He took the fort and conquered the neighbouring territories, expelling the Qarmathians from there. Then he attacked Uchh and captured it along with the surrounding districts. After these victories he returned to Ghazni.

In 1178 Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Muḥammad came with the intention of conquering Anhilwara (Gujarat) and arrived at Multan from where he proceeded towards Gujarat, marching across the deserts of Rajputana. The raja of Gujarat was young, but he had a large army and a number of elephants.

Against this, the Sultan had but a tiny force. Moreover, before the troops of the Sultan could take rest after the hardships of a long journey they found themselves face to face with the enemy and had to give battle at the base of the Abu hills. The result was that Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din suffered a defeat and a large number of his soldiers were killed.

Conquest of the Punjab

This experience made the Sultan change the course of his campaigns; instead of passing through the difficult regions of Sind and Rajputana, he now entered Hind-Pakistan by the side of the Punjab. He decided to conquer the Punjab which was under the rule of the descendants of Subuktigin. The first step that he took was to conquer Peshawar and the surrounding country and establish his authority there.

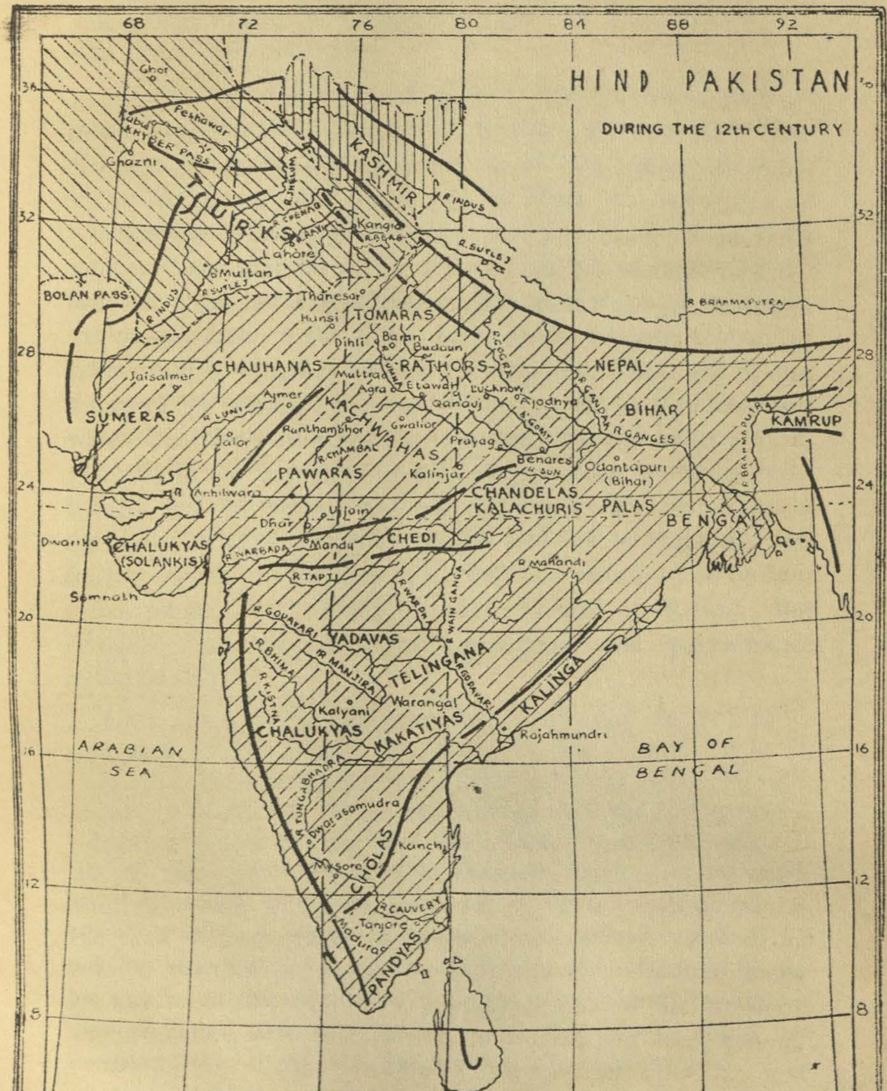
Two years later (1189) he marched against Lahore where Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznavid rulers, still held sway. But his power had been weakened owing to the opposition and conspiracies of the Hindu states, and he was not strong enough to face the invaders. Consequently he shut himself up in the fortress and sued for peace. Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din accepted the request. Malik Shah sent his young son as a hostage and a rare elephant as a present to the Sultan who now returned to Ghazni.

In 1182 Mu'izz-ud-din attacked Daibul, the famous port of Sind and captured it along with many other coastal towns. Two years later he entered the Punjab and seized the fort of Sialkot, and after placing it in the charge of an *amir* went back to Ghazni. During his absence Khusrau Malik collected an army, secured the help of the Khokhars and laid siege to the fort of Sialkot; but he was not able to capture it. This attitude of Khusrau Malik provoked the Sultan's anger; and in 1186 he directed his last and decisive attack against Lahore. Khusrau Malik was captured and lodged as a prisoner in the fortress of Ghor along with his son. The government of Lahore was entrusted

to the governor of Multan. After making these arrangements, the Sultan returned to Ghazni.

The Defeat of Prithiviraj

After the fall of the Ghaznavids the conflict between Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din and the Hindu rajas had become inevitable. Both parties were conscious of this fact and knew that the struggle could not be postponed for long. But Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din who was anxious to avoid war wrote to Prithiviraj that since the Ghaznavid dynasty had come to an end it was necessary that the Shansabaniah sovereignty should be acknowledged and the territories of Karnal and Thanesar, which had been usurped by the Rajputs, be returned. In reply to this appeal Prithiviraj, intoxicated with power, started making preparations for war and inviting the neighbouring rajas to come to his assistance. Under these circumstances the only course left open for the Sultan was to protect has frontiers before they were attacked by the Rajputs; hence in 1190 he attacked the fortress of Bhatinda which had originally been part of the Muslim territory and after capturing it entrusted to one of his officers. Having completed these arrangements, he was preparing for his return to Ghazni when he received reports that Prithiviraj, the chief of Delhi-Ajmer, was coming with other rajas to recapture Bhatinda. The Sultan decided not to go back without resisting the enemy's advance, although he had no more than a few thousand men against the mighty force of his adversary, which comprised two lakhs of soldiers and three thousand war elephants. The two armies met at Tarain which lay between Karnal and Thanesar. In the course of fighting the Sultan charged the Raja's brother, Govind Rai, with a spear and broke his teeth. Govind Rai replied by throwing a javelin at Mu'izz-ud-din, which seriously wounded him in the arm. The Sultan was about to fall down from his horse when a Khalji soldier jumped upon it, took his seat behind his wounded master and brought him out safe from the field of battle. The entire Muslim army


HIND PAKISTAN
DURING THE 12th CENTURY
68
72
76
80
84
88
92
36
32
28
24
20
16
12
8
Ghor
Peshawar
Kabul
KHYBER PASS
Ghazni
TURKS
KASHMIR
R. INDUS
R. JHELUM
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
Kangra
R. BEAS
R. SUTLEJ
Lahore
Multan
BOLAN PASS
R. INDUS
R. SUTLEJ
Thanesar
Hansi
TOMARAS
Dihli
Baran
Budaun
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
CHAUHANAS
RATHORS
NEPAL
Jaisalmer
Multra
Agra
Etawah
Lucknow
Ajodhya
R. GANDAK
BIHAR
Ajmer
KACHWAHAS
Qanauj
R. GOMTI
R. GANGES
KAMRUP
SUMERAS
R. LUNI
Gwalior
Runthambhor
Jalor
R. CHAMBAL
Prayag
Benares
R. SUN
Odantapuri
(Bihar)
PAWARAS
Kalinjar
Anhilwara
CHANDELAS
KALACHURIS
PALAS
BENGAL
Ujjain
Dhar
Mandu
CHEDI
Dwarka
CHALUKYAS
(SOLANKIS)
R. NARBADA
R. TAPTI
R. Mahandi
Somnath
R. WARDHA
R. WAIN GANGA
R. GODAVARI
YADAVAS
R. BHIMA
R. MANJIRA
TELINGANA
R. KISTNA
Kalyani
Warangal
R. GODAVARI
KALINGA
CHALUKYAS
KAKATIYAS
Rajahmundri
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY OF
BENGAL
R. TUNGABHADRA
Dwarasamudra
CHOLAS
Kanchi
Mysore
R. CAUVERY
Tanjore
Madura
PANDYAS

was dispersed. The Sultan with only a few companions managed to reach Lahore whence the latter returned to Ghazni after some time. Here he punished severely all those officers who had from the battle-field.

At Ghazni, Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din began to reassemble his army, and after one year, in 1192, he again marched upon Hind-Pakistan. He now had a force of one lakh and twenty thousand men. Prithiviraj also came out to meet the invaders. He was assisted by about one hundred and fifty big and petty chieftains and commanded a vast army which was comprised of not less than three lakhs of soldiers besides three thousand elephants. On reacing Lahore, the Sultan again sent a message to the Raja asking him to evacuate Sirhind and Thanesar which had formed a part of the empire of Islam. Prithiviraj sent an insulting reply which contained references to the strength and numerical superiority of his forces and added that his soldiers were not to be judged by the armies that had previously suffered defeats at the hands of Muḥammad bin Qasim and Sultan Maḥmud. He further warned the Sultan that it would be better for him to have mercy on his own self and abandon the idea of fighting. But Prithiviraj had under-estimated the courage and perseverance of the Sultan.

Once again the two armies met at Tarain and fought a hotly contested battle. Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din issued orders that as soon as the Hindus advanced the Muslim forces should fall back as though in retreat. When the Hindus saw the Muslim forces retreating in this manner they broke their ranks and began to pursue them like victors in a disorderly fashion. The battle had begun early in the morning; but it was in the afternoon, at the time of '*Asr* prayers that the Sultan ordered those of his soldiers who had not so far participated in the fighting to launch an attack on the centre of the enemy where Prithiviraj himself was stationed with some other rajas. The Hindus could not withstand this charge and the situation was thus reversed. The

Rajputs panicked and began to flee in all directions. Prithiviraj dismounted from his elephant, took a horse and fled but was later captured and executed. Govind Rai was also killed.

Conquest of Delhi

The brilliant victory at Tarain brought Hansi, Samana and Kuhram under the sway of the Sultan, who now proceeded towards Ajmer and the surrounding country. Ajmer was placed in the charge of Prithiviraj's son. The Sultan before his departure for Ghazni entrusted the government of the conquered territories to his slave, Qutb-ud-din Aibak. After his departure the rajas of Delhi and Merrut plotted to encroach upon the territories of the Muslims. On hearing this Aibak captured Delhi and Meerut in 1193 and annexed them to the Sultanate. He shifted the seat of his government from Kuhram to Delhi. In the year 1195 the fort of Koil (Aligarh) was also captured.

Conquest of Kanauj

Next year Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din left Ghazni with the intention of conquering Kanauj. Qutb-ud-din came out to join his master and their combined forces proceeded towards Kanauj. Its raja brought an army of more than one lakh of soldiers to meet the invaders. The battle was fought near Etawa. In spite of the fact that Jaychandra's forces were more than double the strength of the Sultan's army they could not withstand the attack of the Muslims. In the end Jaychandra made a determined attack, but it was of no avail. During the course of the battle an arrow struck Jaychandra in the eye, and he died. The Sultan's booty included three hundred elephants. The Sultan now proceeded towards Banaras and took possession of a number of important fortresses. These victories carried the frontiers of the Shansabaniah dominions to Monghyr, and thus the major portion of north Hind-Pakistan had now come under their rule. The government of these territories was also placed in the charge of Qutb-ud-din Aibak.

Invasion of Gujarat

It was about this time that Prithiviraj's son was defeated by his uncle Hariraja, who seized Ajmer and even sent an army to conquer Delhi. But Qutb-ud-din routed these forces and pursued them up to Ajmer (1195). Hariraja tried to offer resistance but was defeated and forced to shut himself up in the fort of Ajmer. When he saw that there was no chance of success he burnt himself to death. Qutb-ud-din appointed a Muslim *hakim* (governor) at Ajmer. After completing this task Qutb-ud-din invaded Gujarat in the same year, because its raja, Bhim Deva, had sided with the rebels at the time of war in Ajmer. The raja could not offer resistance and tried to escape; but he was forced by Qutb-ud-din to fight and died in the course of the battle. Qutb-ud-din won ample booty as a result of this battle and captured Anhilwara, the capital of Gujarat. But, situated as it was at a long distance from the capital, it was not considered advisable to include it permanently in the Sultanate at this stage.

On his return from Gujarat in 1196, Qutb-ud-din built a *Jami'Masjid* at Delhi which came to be known as the *Qubbatul Islam Mosque* and stands to this day.

Conquest of Behar and Bengal

Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar was an ordinary member of the Khalji tribe. He tried but failed to secure employment both at Ghazni and Delhi; ultimately he took service under Husam-ud-din, the *hakim* of Awadh and received the territory lying between the Son and the Ganges as an assignment. Here he was able to collect a number of his tribesmen, and it was with their help that he seized Udantapuri, the capital of Behar, and brought it under government of Delhi. He now came to Qutb-ud-din and taking necessary permission to undertake further conquests he invaded Bengal and captured its capital. At the time of this invasion Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyar marched

with such rapidity that only eighteen horsemen could keep pace with him. He was, however, so bold and intrepid that he launched an attack even with this tiny detachment. When he reached the gates of the palace the raja was taking his meals. It is stated that on hearing the news of this attack he left by a back-door and fled. On this Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyar captured Lakhnauti, the capital of the Sena rajas of Bengal.

Tibet Expedition

The conquest of Behar and Bengal emboldened Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyar, and he decided to invade Tibet. In 1205 he left Lakhnauti at the head of 10,000 soldiers and after marching continuously for ten days in the mountainous regions he reached a place where the river could be crossed by a pucca bridge. He entrusted the protection of the bridge to the raja of Assam and crossing the hills entered the territory of Tibet. The unfavourable conditions caused by the bad weather, however, forced him to retreat. The raja of Assam who had in the meantime demolished the bridge attacked the forces of Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyar when he reached the spot. It was with great difficulty that he was able to escape to Deokot. This catastrophe affected his health seriously. He was murdered in this condition by a faithless soldier.

Sultan Mu'i-zz-ud-din's Death

The Sultan had to come to the Jhelum territory to suppress a revolt of the Khokhars. From there he proceeded to Lahore and made necessary arrangement. On his way back to Ghazni he was assasinated, when offering his '*Isha* prayers, by a *fidai* at Damyak on the bank of the Indus.

Review of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din's Achievements

Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din occupies a place of distinction in the history of Asia, and deserves to be counted among the great men of the history of the world. We come across numerous instances of his courage, enterprise and spirit. He had to fight against the Hindu states incessantly for twenty

to twenty-five years; and during this period his opponents tried to provoke him on several occasions, but he always acted with a coolness and perseverance which rouse our admiration. Had he so desired he could have killed or forcibly converted countless Hindus to Islam, but we do not hear of even a single incident in his entire life, which can point to his bigotry in matters of religion or his narrow-mindedness. On the contrary authoritative works on history contain many events which can be cited as a proof of his justice and nobility. When he reached Ghazni after his defeat at the hands of the raja of Gujarat, a memorandum was brought to him which proposed that he should confiscate the Gujarat merchandise and use the proceeds in recruiting an army to invade that State. But the noble Sultan dictated his orders on the memorandum in these golden words: "This is against the principles of justice. I cannot do this."

The conquest of Sultan Muḥammad bin Sam strengthened the foundations of the Islamic State and extended the influence of Islam in the subcontinent. Like most other Muslim rulers he was interested in literature and learning; and scholars like Imam Fakr-ud-din Razi enjoyed his patronage.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EARLY SULTANS OF DELHI

The successors of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam who ruled Delhi in the thirteenth century have erroneously been called "the slave kings", simply because Aibak Iltutmish and Balban were slaves; but they had already been granted freedom before they came to the throne. The term 'Pathan' or 'Afghan Kings' used by some writers is also wrong as these rulers were Turks.

Qutb-ud-din Aibak's Early Career

Qutb-ud-din Aibak originally belonged to a Turkish family of Central Asia. In his childhood he was brought by certain merchants and sold to Qadi Fakhr-ud-din Kufi, the governor of Nishapur, who showed a keen interest in him, educated him, and brought him up with his own sons. He grew up to be an accomplished young man. But misfortune overtook him at the death of his master, and he was again sold to a merchant who took him to Ghazni. He was finally purchased by Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Muḥammad. He was so impressed by Aibak's abilities and devotion that he conferred on him ranks of honour and distinction. He rose in rapid succession from one position to another till he was made *amir-i-akhur* (master of stables). His extraordinary courage and valour in battle impressed the Sultan so greatly that he was ultimately made the viceroy of his Indo-Pakistan territory.

Qutb-ud-din's Accession

On the assassination of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din (1206), his nephew Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din Maḥmud, who succeeded him as Sultan of Ghor conferred on Aibak all the insignia of royalty, comprising 'a throne, a canopy, standards, drums and the title of king.' Aibak proceeded to Lahore to receive the royal gifts and there ascended the throne on the 17th March, 1206.

His Turkish Rivals

The whole of the kingdom of Ghor and its Indo-Pakistan dominions had been divided among four Turkish slaves of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din. Taj-ud-din Yalduz held Ghazni, Kirman and Sind; Naṣir-ud-din Qubachah held Uchh and Multan; Aibak was the viceroy of Delhi; Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyar was the governor of Bengal and Behar. All of them nourished high ambitions and looked upon Qutb-ud-din's power with jealousy. Qubachah was Aibak's son-in-law and hence gave him no trouble. Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar was assassinated soon afterwards and a new governor, 'Ali Mardan, was appointed in Bengal. Of all Aibak's rivals, therefore, Yalduz alone challenged his sovereignty. By virtue of his possession of Ghazni he laid claims to the whole of his master's dominion. In 1208 he descended from Ghazni, captured Multan and besieged Lahore. Aibak immediately proceeded from Delhi, drove him out from Lahore and advanced upon Ghazni. He remained in occupation of Ghazni for nearly 40 days, but on the approach of Yalduz in the vicinity he withdrew to Lahore. In order to prevent Yalduz from creating further trouble he stayed at Lahore. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his labour and early in November 1210, while playing *chaugan* (polo), he fell from his horse and died instantaneously. He was buried at Lahore.

Character

Aibak is rightly regarded as the founder of Muslim rule in northern Hind-Pakistan. He was a military leader of high clibre. Although he ruled only for a short period, during which military campaigns engaged much of his attention, he was not unmindful of the need of putting his administration on a sound basis.

By sheer dint of merit and sustained effort he rose to a position of power and glory from humble origins. He was generous, a lover of justice and a good administrator. He cleared the roads of robbers, promoted trade and commerce and encouraged

education. He was a great patron of learning and was known as "*Lakhbakhsh*" because of his bounty to the learned. He built many mosques and schools. At Delhi he built the great *Qubbatul Islam Mosque* and began the construction of the *Qutb Minar* which was later completed by Iltutmish. He was tolerant and employed many Hindu in his army and the revenue administration.

Aram Shah

On the death of Aibak, some nobles raised Aram Shah to the throne. He was unpopular because he was inefficient and pleasure-loving. The influential nobles invited Iltutmish, the governor of Badaun and Aibak's son-in-law, to ascend the throne. Aram Shah was defeated by Iltutmish outside Delhi and was slain in the battle.

Iltutmish: Early Career

Iltutmish ascended the throne at Delhi in 1211. His father was a chief of the Ilbari tribe of Turkistan. Iltutmish was an intelligent and promising boy and his brother, out of jealousy, sold him as a slave. He received his early education and training in the cultured and refined family of the chief justice of Bukhara; then he was purchased by one Jamal-ud-din who brought him to Ghazni. Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din was greatly impressed by his talents and attainments but he refused to pay the high price demanded by the merchant. At last Aibak, who happened to be at Ghazni when three years later the merchant againt brought Iltutmish there, purchased him. Aibak showed him much consideration. He continued to rise from one important position to another and ultimately held the district of Badaun. He also obtained the writ of liberty during the lifetime of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din.

Iltutmish as Sultan (1211-36)

When Iltutmish became Sultan, he was faced with many difficulties. There were still strong Hindu chiefs and Muslim nobles who were inclined to be refractory. A section of Turkish nobles was opposed to his accession. Yalduz and Qubachah put

forward their claims for succession to the empire of their old master. 'Ali Mardan assumed independence in Bengal.

The supporters of Aram Shah made another unsuccessful attempt to oust Iltutmish from power, but they were defeated. The *rai* of Jalor who afforded shelter to these rebels was severely punished and thus order was soon restored.

Defeat of Yalduz

Iltutmish then turned his attention towards Yalduz who established himself at Lahore after defeating Qubachah. He marched against Yalduz and defeated him at Taraori (1216). Yalduz died in prison at Badaun. Later Qubachah tried to regain Lahore but was defeated (1217) and fled towards Uchh. But before Iltutmish could deal with him finally serious catastrophe befell Qubachah.

The Mongols

In 1221 the famous Mongol conqueror, Chingiz Khan, appeared on the frontiers of the Sultanate. After conquering China and Trans-Oxiana, he invaded Khwarazm. Jalal-ud-din Khwarazm Shah begged for shelter from Iltutmish, who fearing the consequences of such a step refused politely. In the meantime the forces of Chingiz ovetook Jalal-ud-din's armies and a fierce battle ensued on the banks of the Indus. Jalal-ud-din was defeated, but he succeeded in establishing himself in western Punjab through the help of the Khokhar tribe. He was obliged to quit Punjab on the approach of Iltutmish. Then he entered Sind, captured a number of towns and fortresses and exacted great tribute from Qubachah. Since the Mongol hordes had withdrawn from Ghazni, Jalal-ud-din went on to Persia.

Defeat of Qubachah

Qubachah was now greatly weakened, and so Iltutmish decided to put an end to his pretensions. In 1227 the Sultan ordered the governor of Lahore to march upon Multan, and he himself proceeded with a strong force towards Uchh and besieged the fortress. Qubachah fled with all his treasures to Bhakkar.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, the *wazir* of Iltutmish, pursued him there. The fortress of Uchh fell after standing siege for three months. Qubachah now begged for terms. Iltutmish agreed and demanded the surrender of Multan. In the meantime the fortress of Bhakkar was taken by assault, and Qubachah in an attempt to effect his escape was drowned in the river Indus.

Conquest of Behar and Bengal

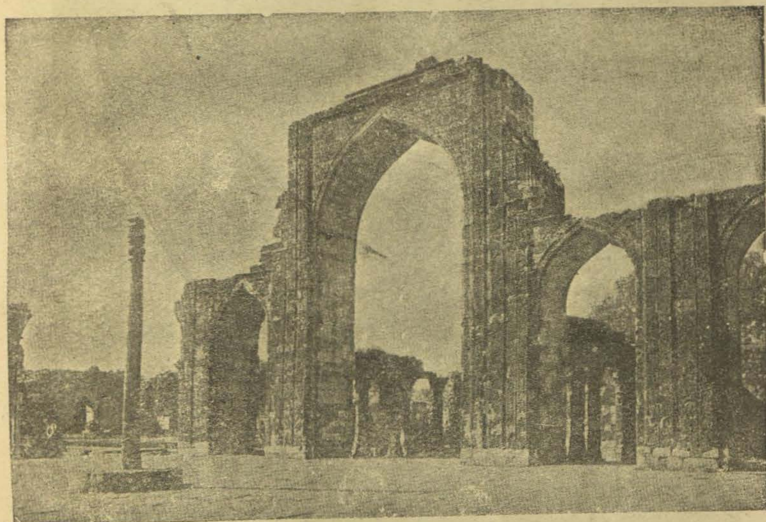
Soon after the death of Aibak, 'Ali Mardan Khalji, the governor of Bengal, who had declared his independence was killed by another group of Khalji Maliks led by Husam-ud-din 'Iwaḍ who assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din. Iltutmish now turned his attention to the east. He posted his son Naṣir-ud-din Maḥmud as the governor of Behar. Then he proceeded towards Bengal. Ghiyath-ud-din offered his submission in 1225 without fighting and agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan. But soon after the Sultan's return to Delhi, Ghiyath-ud-din expelled the governor of Behar and seized the province. Nasir-ud-din marched to Lakhnauti. Ghiyath-ud-din was defeated and killed and once again Bengal was subdued in 1227. Ikhtiyar-ud-din Balka, a son of Ghiyath-ud-din, declared his independence. Iltutmish proceeded to Lakhnauti and in 1230 defeated the rebels and restored order. Balka was seized and executed.

Conquests in Rajputana and Central India

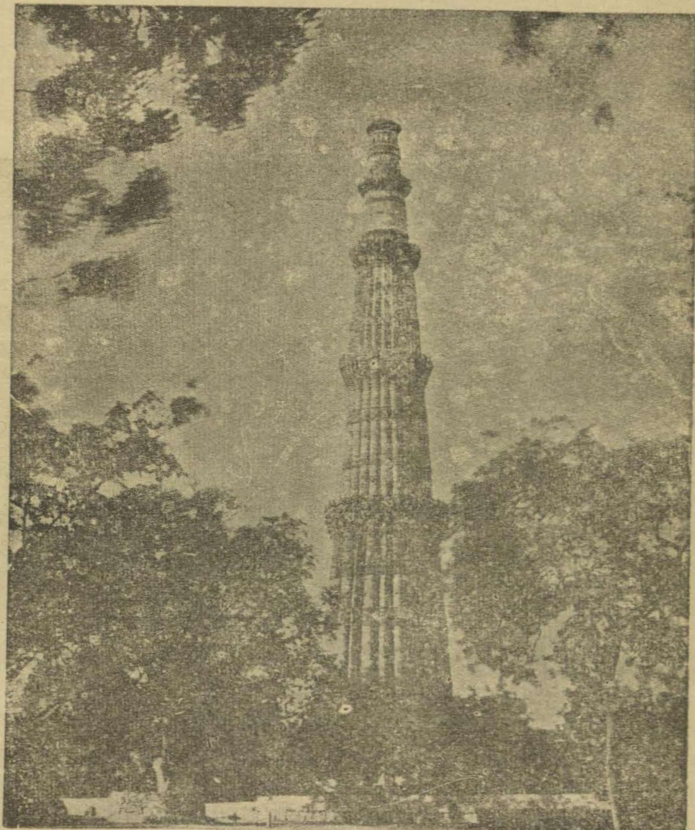
The fortress of Ranthambor was considered to be one of the strongest in northern India. The Muslims had captured it after the defeat of Prithiviraj but the Rajputs had recovered it on Aibak's death. Iltutmish was alive to its importance and in 1226, captured it. Between 1227 and 1234 he brought several chiefs and fortresses in the Siwalak hills and Rajputana under his control and extended his empire to the banks of the Narbada.

Character and Achievements

Iltutmish died in April 1236. He made secure the foundation of the young Muslim empire, which but for his ceaseless and sustained effort, could not have survived. He received recognition



Qubbat-ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi



Qutb Minar, Delhi

from the caliph of Baghdad, who, in 1229, sent to him letters patent of investiture and other insignia of royalty. This legalised his position as Sultan and gave him a recognised status in the Muslim world.

It was his uncommon intelligence, singleness of purpose, devotion to duty, perseverance, sense of integrity and, above all, his extraordinary courage and bravery which enabled him to achieve such greatness. He was pious and kind-hearted; a strict follower of his faith and full of consideration for great *sufis*, divines and doctors of religion, he spent vast sums of money on charitable purposes. In spite of his military preoccupations, he established colleges and schools and encouraged learning. He completed the great mosque at Delhi and the *Qutb-Minar*, built the tomb of Sultan Ghori, and founded several new townships, He put the coinage of his realm on a sound basis and was the first to coin the silver and gold *tankahs*. In war as well as peace his successes command admiration, and he emerges as one of the greatest rulers of our history.

Rukn-ud-din Firuz

After the death of his eldest son, Naṣir-ud-din Maḥmud, Iltutmish wanted his daughter Raḍiyah to succeed him, for Firuz, the eldest among his surviving sons, was incapable and worthless. But as he died, the nobles, disregarding his recommendation, raised Rukn-ud-din Firuz to the throne in May 1236. Very soon he alienated the sympathies of his supporters by his stupid and unbecoming behaviour. The affairs of the State were managed by the queen-mother, Shah Turkan, whose intrigues caused further disaffection. Some of the leading nobles rose in rebellion, defeated Firuz and put him into prison where he died.

Sultana Radiyah (1236-40)

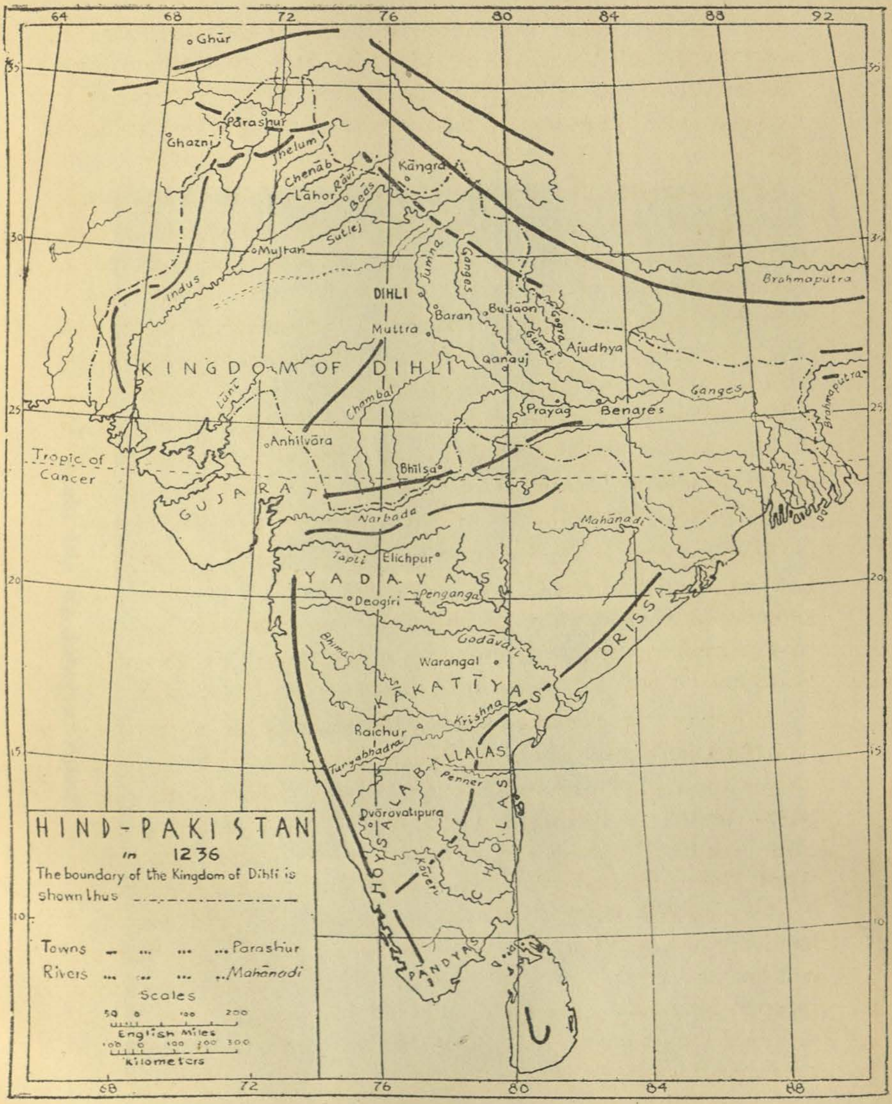
He was succeeded by Raḍiyah, the only woman to sit on the throne of Delhi in her own right. She had received a thorough education and training in the art of government before her elevation

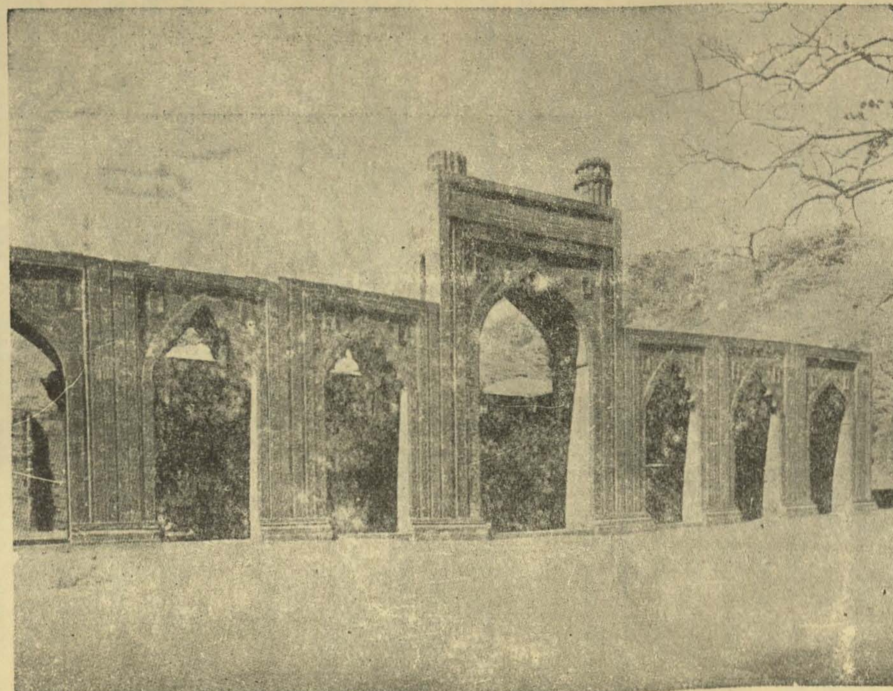
to the throne, and was endowed with all the qualities and accomplishments befitting a monarch. Her conduct justified the choice and the confidence of her father. Her manly prowess, courage and diplomacy enabled her to over-come her difficulties.

She ascended the throne at a time when the empire was disorganised and on the verge of collapse. The nobles who had risen against Rukn-ud-din's misrule were not prepared to acknowledge her rule on account of her sex. Their armies were besieging the capital. She won over most of the nobles by holding out promises of gifts and offices and thereby broke their solidarity and sowed dissension among them. After those who had persisted in fighting had been defeated, she set herself to the task of restoring order in the empire. New governors were appointed to almost all the provinces except Sind and Bengal where former governors were retained for their loyalty.

She was now at the height of her power and from Daibul to Lakhnauti all the *maliks* and *amirs* had offered obedience and submission to her. She discarded her veil, dressed herself in many fashions, attended upon court, transacted all business of State herself and led the armies in person on horse-back.

However, the prejudice against her sex was too deep-rooted. The Turkish nobles, smarting under Radiyah's control objected to her appointment of an Abyssinian slave, Yaqut, as the *amir-i-akhur* (master of the horse) as a reward for his loyalty and devotion. Malik Iltutmish the governor of Bhatinda, revolted in April 1240. Raḍiyah marched against him; but on her way the Turkish nobles mutined, murdered Yaqut, seized Raḍiyah and handed her over to Ilṭuniyah. Meanwhile her brother Bahram had been raised to the throne. Raḍiyah out of sheer expediency married Ilṭuniyah. She then collected her scattered army and proceeded to recover Delhi, but she was defeated. She then retreated towards Bhatinda, but her troops deserted her and she and Ilṭuniyah were killed by Hindu robbers near Kaithal in 1240 while resting under a tree.


HIND-PAKISTAN
in 1236
The boundary of the Kingdom of Dihli is shown thus
Towns ... ... Parashur
Rivers ... ... Mahānadi
Scales
English Miles
Kilometers
KINGDOM OF DIHLI
GUJARAT
YADAVAS
KAKATIYAS
ORISSA
HOYSALA BALLALAS
CHOLAS
PANDYAS
Ghūr
Ghazni
Parashur
Jhelum
Chenab
Rāvi
Lahor
Beas
Kāngra
Sutlej
Multan
Indus
Jumna
Ganges
DIHLI
Baran
Budaon
Gogra
Gumti
Ajudhya
Muttra
Qanauj
Lūni
Chambal
Prayag
Benares
Ganges
Brahmaputra
Anhilvāra
Tropic of Cancer
Bhīlsa
Narbada
Mahānadi
Tapti
Elichpur
Deogiri
Penganga
Godāvari
Bhima
Warangal
Krishna
Raichur
Tungabhadra
Penner
Dvārovatipura
Kāveri



Arahi Din Ka Johnpra, Ajmer

Bahram Shah (1240-42)

Bahram Shah owed his throne to the *Chihlgani nobles*. This body had been raised by Iltutmish in order to secure and safeguard the interests of his dynasty, but after him, they became too powerful. In supporting Bahram, they had calculated that he would remain under their influence. But they were greatly disappointed when Bahram sought to break their power; they rebelled and after defeating him put him to death in 1242.

'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud Shah (1242-46)

'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud, a son of Rukn-ud-din Firuz, was raised to the throne. The 'Forty' were soon tired of him and raised Naṣir-ud-din Mahmud, another son of Iltutmish, to the throne in 1246.

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (1246-66)

Naṣir-ud-din led an extremely simple life. He did not take any money from the public treasury for his personal use and earned his livelihood by sewing caps and copying the *Qur'an*. He devoted himself to pious deeds and entrusted the affairs of the state to Balban.

Balban (1266-87)

Soon after his accession Naṣir-ud-din sent Balban to restore order in the north. Balban made an intensive campaign against the turbulent Jats of the Salt Range and the Khokhars, who used to help the Mongols. Then he led punitive expeditions in the Doab and Bundelkhand. After these brilliant victories he was made "*Naib-ul-Mulk*" and given the title of Ulugh Khan. The 'Forty' grew jealous of his growing power and influence and persuaded the Sulṭan to remove him from office in March 1253. Balban retired to his *jagir* at Hansi. 'Imad-ud-din Rihan, who succeeded him, soon alienated the nobles by his arrogance. Balban was, therefore, reinstated in February 1255; and he now effectively liquidated the power of the 'Forty'. In 1257, the Mongols laid siege to Multan, but they soon withdrew when they heard the approach

of Balban. Towards the close of the reign an envoy of Hulaku Khan, the grandson of Chingiz, came to Delhi. He was received with such pomp and splendour that the Mongols were completely overwhelmed. Nasir-ud-din died in 1266.

Sultan Balban's Accession

In his childhood Balban was captured by the Mongols who sold him as a slave at Baghdad. His master, Khwaja Jamal-ud-din Basri, brought him up like his own children. In 1232, Balban was taken to Delhi where he was acquired by Iltutmish. He soon rose to power and was among the 'Forty'. As Nasir-ud-din Mahmud had no male issue, he nominated Balban as his successor, and, therefore, on his death in 1266 Balban ascended the throne with the title of Ghiyath-ud-din Balban. Under the weak descendants of Iltutmish, the power of the nobles had increased to such an extent that the monarchy had lost its prestige. Therefore, Balban's main task was to restore its authority. He built a strong army in order to stamp out the sedition of the Hindus. check the inroads of the Mongols and shatter the power of the nobles.

He devoted considerable attention to the efficiency of administration. A number of soldiers had failed to render military service, though they enjoyed the benefits of the assignments of land which had been made in lieu of their salaries. The Sultan took away these assignments unless the soldiers had been regular in rendering service. A few old men who were incapable of service were permitted to enjoy their assignments as pensions on the intervention of Fakhrul Mulk the *Kotwal*. The nobles were brought under discipline and those who proved reluctant were severely punished.

He maintained a magnificent court where strict discipline and ceremonial formalities were observed. He avoided familiarity with the people and nobles. He never encouraged low and vulgar people and moved only in the company of those

who were high born, learned and pious. He gave up all convivial parties, and forbade joking or jesting, laughing or drinking in the court. Thus a very rigid and austere court discipline was maintained which kept the nobles and the people overawed, and compelled them to pay due respect and obedience to the Sulṭan. The same rigidity was followed in matter of justice. Even his own relatives and favourites and the highest nobles were given exemplary punishments for breach of trust or an act of injustice. The governor of Badaun was flogged to death for having murdered his servant. The governor of Oudh was publicly flogged for having killed a man. Sher Khan Sunqar of Bhatinda, a cousin of the Sulṭan, was poisoned to death for similar reasons. These measures completly crushed the Turkish nobility and ended the supremacy of the 'Forty'. The Sulṭan dealt strictly with his enemies and mischief-makers. Rebellion against the State was the greatest crime in the Sulṭan's eyes. Balban preferred to strengthen his Government and to promote security in the realm to the extention of the frontiers of his Empire.

Suppression of Birgandage

When Balban came to the throne, the peace of the country around Delhi was disturbed by the *Mewattis*, who infested the jungles and hilly tracts and plundered the travellers on the highway. They entered the city-walls at night and robbed the inhabitants even in the day time. Therefore, Balban ordered all the jungles and forests to be cleared of the robbers. He established a number of smallposts near the city with royal officers to prevent any renewal of brigandage.

The Hindus of the *Doab* had also taken to highway robbery and had rendered all traffic between Delhi and Bengal unsafe. They also harassed the peaceful peasants of the *Doab*. Balban established Muslim colonies in these regions with orders to clear the jungles and suppress the robbers. Later he himself supervised these operations and constructed forts at Kampil, Patali, Bhojpur,

and Jalali. Strong garrisons were posted in these places. Roads were made safe and lawlessness was completely stopped. While he was busy in the *Doab*, serious disturbances broke out in Katehr (modern Rohilkhand). The Sulṭan marched there with a strong army and defeated and dispersed the rebels who were given exemplary punishment.

The Mongol Problem

Most of the Muslims countries of Asia had been overrun by the Mongols. Millions of Muslim homes had been ravaged and centres of Muslim culture and civilization devastated. Only the Sulṭanate of Delhi escaped this fate; and it thus became a refuge for Muslim emigrants. Among them were men of culture, learning and refinement, saints, *sufis*, merchants, artisans and craftsmen. They settled in this subcontinent permanently and added to the richness of the Indo-Muslim culture. The Mongol danger, however, had an adverse effect on the expansion of the Muslim empire. Balban could not leave his capital and undertake new projects of conquests. He concentrated on the defence of the frontiers. He repaired and reconstructed the fort of Lahore which had been destroyed by the Mongols and erected a chain of fortresses along the Indus to prevent Mongol incursions. Sher Khan Sunqar was appointed governor of Lahore, and he dealt with the Mongols so effectively that they came to dread him. After his death the Sulṭan appointed his own son, Bug͟hra K͟han, as the governor of Samana and Sunam, and entrusted the provinces of Sind and Multan to his eldest son, Prince Muḥammad, and placed large armies at their disposal. Both these princes succeeded in keeping the Mongols in check.

Rebellion in Bengal (1279-80)

Bengal, on account of the long distance from the capital and difficult communications had always been difficult to control. Balban had placed this province under Malik Tug͟hril who plundered the State of Jajnagar and declared his independence at Lakhnauti

in 1279. Twice the armies sent by the Sultan were defeated. Then the Sulṭan himself proceeded to Lakhnauti with 20,000 soldiers. Tug͟hril fled with all his treasure to Jajnagar and was pursued by Balban's soldiers. Tug͟hril was killed in an encounter, and the Sulṭan made an example of the followers who were hanged publicly in the market-place at Lakhnauti. He entrusted the government of Bengal to his son Bug͟hra Khan and returned to Delhi.

Balban's Death

In 1286 the Mongols reappeared under Timur K͟han, plundered Lahore and besieged Multan. Prince Muḥammad repulsed them but paid for this victory with his own life. The news of his death greatly disturbed Balban for "in him were centered the hopes of the stern old king." He was a capable and accomplished prince and a patron of learning. Balban had loved him dearly and had nominated him heir-apparent. The Sulṭan was now very old and his grief brought him nearer his grave, though he bore it with dignity and fortitude. He eventually died in February, 1287.

Balban was undoubtedly a great monarch. The forces of anarchy were destroyed; and law and order was restored throughout the realm. He combined strict discipline with kindness and generosity. Many stories are recorded of when the Sulṭan was moved to tears out of compassion for his subjects. He was an orthodox Muslim, strict in the observance of his religious duties. He patronised the *'ulama* and *mas͟haik͟h* and held them in high reverence.

Kaiqubad (1287-89)

After the death of the "Martyr Prince", Muḥammad, Balban designated his second son, Bug͟hra K͟han as his heir. But he was lazy and ease-loving, refused to assume the heavy responsibilities of the empire and went over to his province of Bengal. The nobles after Balban's death raised Kaiqubad, the son of Bug͟hra K͟han, to the throne in 1287. Kaiqubad had been brought

up in an atmosphere of strict discipline under Balban, therefore, on ascending the throne, he lost his head and gave himself up to pleasure. Kaiqubad's fall was imminent but was temporarily averted by a timely warning from his father, Bughra Khan, who had come from Bengal to meet him on the banks of the Gogra in 1288.

The Khalji Revolution

Malik Firuz Khalji was made the '*Arid-i-Mumalik.*' Kaiqubad was struck with paralysis on account of heavy drinking, and there was no hope for his recovery. The Turkish nobles, thereupon, placed his three years old son, Kaimurth on the throne in 1289. Malik Firuz and other Khalji nobles were alarmed at this conspiracy; they seized the capital and secured the person of the infant monarch. Malik Firuz was proclaimed Sulṭan in 1290.

CHAPTER XVII

THE KHALJIS

Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji (1290-96)

It is generally assumed that the Khaljis were Turks who had settled between Sistan and Pakistan in the tenth century and had been deeply affected by their long stay in Afghanistan. The later Turks who migrated from Turkistan during the thirteenth century considered them to be Afghans. The Turks were opposed to Jalal-ud-din's accession; but he gradually won the people over the excellence of his character, his humility and mildness and by lavish grants of lands and riches.

Balban's nephew Malik Chhajju Kishlu Khan, who had been confirmed by the Sulṭan in his assignment of Kara-Manakpur, made an attempt to recover the throne of his family. He declared himself Sulṭan at Kara in 1291, and proceeded to Delhi. Malik Chhajju was defeated at Badaun and taken a prisoner by Sulṭan who pardoned his offence and sent him to Multan. Other rebels were also let off without punishment. This clemency was unpopular among the Khalji nobles who talked of removing the Sultan. When this was reported to him, he summoned them to his presence and merely reprimanded them. He would even let thieves and robbers go unpunished after pleading with them to reform their ways.

Sidi Maula

Sidi Maula was a disciple of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar of Pakpattan. The Sidi maintained a big *khanqah* at Delhi where he entertained lavishly without any apparent means of income. He was suspected of conspiring with the Turkish nobles against the Sulṭan. He was summoned to the court and executed under the orders of the Sulṭan's son, Arkali Khan. This execution proved to be unpopular.

Mongol Invasion (1292)

In 1292 the Mongols again appeared under 'Abdullah, a grandson of Halaku, with an army of 150,000 strong. In the battle the Mongols suffered a crushing defeat and retreated. One of the descendants of Chingiz, Ulugh, did not return and embraced Islam with a large number of his men. The Sulṭan married one of his daughters to him, and settled these converted Mongols in the suburbs of Delhi. This quarter was called Mughulpurah.

'Ala-ud-din's Expedition to Deogir (1294)

'Ala-ud-din, the nephew and son-in-law of the Sulṭan, was posted at Kara. He had heard about the fabulous wealth of Deogir. He made secret plans to conquer it and gave out that he was going to chastise the raja of Chanderi. From Chanderi he advanced towards Deogir at the head of a small army. The raja of Deogir, Ramchandra, was upset on the approach of the Muslim army, because his son, Shankar Deva, had gone further south with the main army. The raja shut himself up in the fortress, and 'Ala-ud-din entered the city without meeting any serious resistance. Ramchandra begged for peace; in the meanwhile Shankar Deva returned, and gave battle. He was completely defeated and had to accept humiliating terms. 'Ala-ud-din brought away 600 *mans* of gold, 1,000 *mans* of silver, 7 *mans* of pearls, 2 *mans* of precious stones and 4,000 pieces of silk as booty.

Jalal-ud-din's Murder (1296)

When 'Ala-ud-din returned to Kara with his spoils he was asked to attend the court. As the prince declared himself apprehensive the Sultan started out to meet him at Kara. When Jalal-ud-din disembarked he was murdered. The Sulṭan had, in spite of all the advice given to him by his ministers, gone unguarded and thus he fell an easy prey to the strategem. 'Ala-ud-din was promoted to commit this crime by several considerations. The queen and Arkali Khan, the Sulṭan's heir-apparent, were

against him; he was also suspicious about the Sulṭan's intentions. Moreover, the Khaljis feared that if the Sultan remained on the throne, power might slip out of their hands as a result of his leniency.

Accession of 'Ala-ud-din (1296)

Without delay 'Ala-ud-din proclaimed himself Sulṭan at Kara and proceeded towards Delhi. At that time Arkali Khan was at Multan, hence Jalal-ud-din's widow raised her younger son, Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim, to the throne. The populace, the soldiers and the nobles, attracted by his lavish generosity, thronged to his standards, and by the time he reached Delhi, he had a large army. Ibrahim and his mother fled to Multan. 'Ala-ud-din entered the capital triumphantly and formally ascended the throne. He then sent an army to Multan. Both the sons of the late Sulṭan were defeated and captured.

The Mongol Invasions

Twice the Mongols had crossed the frontier and were repulsed with heavy losses by Zafar Khan in the early years of the reign. Again in 1299 they advanced upon Delhi under Qutlugh Khwajah. 'Ala-ud-din came out with 12,000 soldiers to face the invaders; the Mongols were again defeated and took to their heels. In the battle Zafar Khan was killed accidentally. They did not reappear for several years, during which interval, 'Ala-ud-din and his generals led expeditions against the states of Rajputana. The absence of the royal armies from the capital encouraged the Mongols and they made a descent on the capital with a large army under Ṭurghi. 'Ala-ud-din hastened back to the capital. The Mongols, however, raised the siege and retreated without fighting. This sudden retreat of the Mongols is attributed to the prayers of the famous saint, i.e. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya.

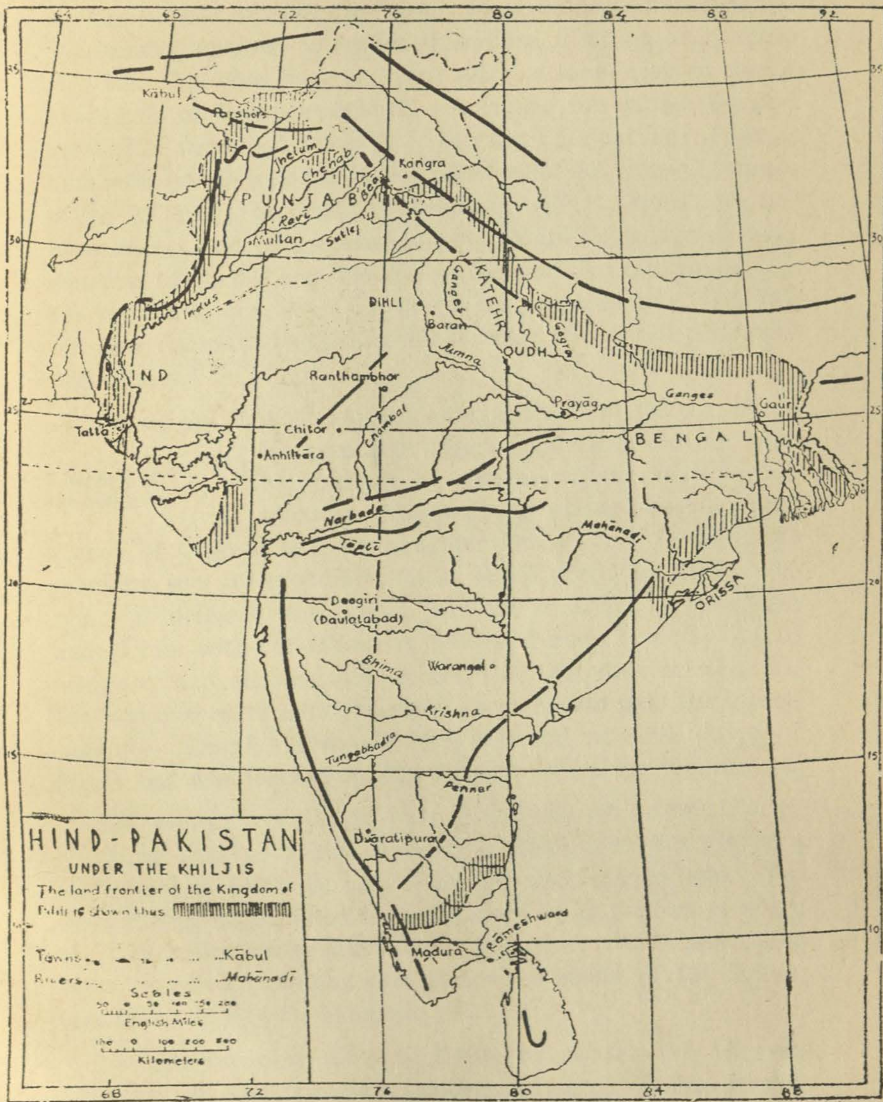
The constant raids of the Mongols opened the eyes of 'Ala-ud-din to the grave danger to which the Sulṭanate was exposed. He realised the necessity of reorganising his army and adopting

permanent measures of defence to guard the frontiers, and took measures to raise the necessary funds. All along the route of the Mongols strong military outposts were created with headquarters at Samana and at Dipalpur. Old forts were repaired and new ones were erected. The defence of the frontier marches was entrusted to Malik Tughluq, a veteran general of repute, who stood like a rock against the Mongol inroads. On three occasions large hordes of Mongols entered the frontier territories, but every time they were punished heavily by Tughluq. On one of these raids not more than three or four thousand Mongols out of 60,000 were able to escape. As a result the Mongol inroads came to an end.

Conquest of Gujarat, Rajputana and Central India

'Ala-ud-din sent an expedition to Gujarat in 1297 under his brother, Ulugh Khan, and Nuṣrat Khan. The raja was defeated and fled to Deogir. The kingdom of Gujarat was annexed and immense booty fell into the hands of the victors. It was there that Malik Kafur who later became the *Malik Na'ib* and conqueror of southern India was captured.

The rana of Ranthambor, Hamir Deva, had offended the Sulṭan by sheltering rebels. An army was sent against him and later the Sulṭan himself proceeded to Ranthambor. On the way an attempt was made on his life by his nephew, Akat Khan, but he was seized along with his supporters and beheaded. About the same time, two of his other nephews, 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan, rebelled at Badaun and Oudh, but they were also captured and executed. Yet another rising was led by Ḥaji Maula in the capital itself. He murdered the *kotwal* of Delhi, seized the royal palace and raised a descendant of Iltutmish to the throne. This rebellion too was quickly repressed and Ḥaji Maula and the pretender were killed. In spite of these disturbances 'Ala-ud-din continued the siege of Ranthambor until the fort fell in July 1301.


HIND-PAKISTAN
UNDER THE KHILJIS
The land frontier of the Kingdom of
Towns ... Kābul
Rivers ... Mahānadī
Scales
English Miles
Kilometers
Kābul
Jhelum
Chenab
Kangra
PUNJAB
Beas
Ravi
Multan
Sutlej
Indus
DIHLI
Ganges
KATEHR
Baran
Jumna
OUDH
Gogra
SIND
Ranthambhor
Chitor
Anhilvara
Chambal
Prayāg
Ganges
Gaur
BENGAL
Tatta
Narbada
Tāptī
Mahānadī
ORISSA
Deogiri
(Daulatabad)
Bhima
Warangal
Krishna
Tungabhadra
Pennar
Dvaratipura
Madura
Rāmeshwaram

The fortress of Chitor in Mewar was considered impregnable. 'Ala-ud-din resolved to reduce it and led a strong army there in 1302. The fort was captured after a long siege in which thousands of Rajputs perished. A legend has grown up that the Sulṭan undertook the siege to capture a Rajput lady, Padmavati, who burnt herself to ashes rather than fall into the hands of the Sulṭan. The origin of this story, which is absolutely unhistorical, is poem by a Muslim poet, Malik Muḥammad Jaisi, who has taken pains in the end of his poem to explain that he has used these characters for allegorical purposes only, 'Ala-ud-din and Padmavati denoting the human spirit and perfection respectively.

Conquest of the South

'Ala-ud-din had already led an expedition to Deogir before his accession. Raja Ram Deva did not keep his promise of paying tribute and further offended 'Ala-ud-din by giving refuge to Raja Karna of Gujarat and his daughter Deval Devi. 'Ala-ud-din therefore sent an expedition under Malik Kafur in 1306. The raja was defeated and sent a prisoner to Delhi. 'Ala-ud-din treated him with consideration, bestowed upon him the title of *rai-rayan*, and allowed him to retain his kingdom as a vassal. The raja ever afterwards remained obedient and paid the tribute regularly. Deval Devi was also captured near the caves of Ellora and was married to the Sulṭan's son Khiḍr Khan.

The conquest of Deogir opened the way for an invasion of Warangal and so Malik Kafur was dispatched there with a large force in 1309, the raja of Deogir also offering help. The Raja Pratap Rudra Deva II shut himself up in the fort of which the mud defences were said to be impregnable. Kafur penetrated them, however, and the raja became a vassal of the Sulṭan, presenting him with handome gift.

'Ala-ud-din now directed Kafur to subdue the Hoysala kingdom of Dwarsamudra (modern Mysore). Kafur started from Delhi in November 1310, and passing through Deogir,

marched towards Dwarsamudra. Raja Vir Ballala III was taken by surprise, and after a feeble resistance submitted with all his treasure.

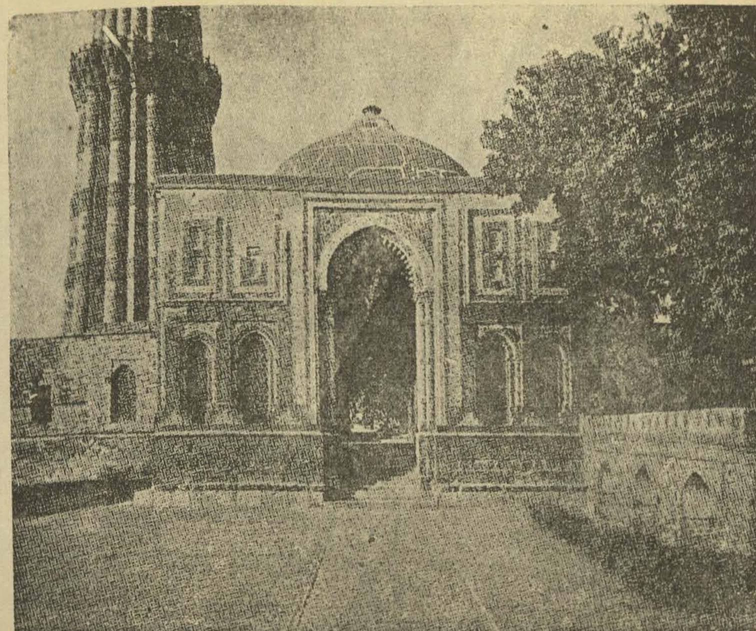
The southern-most part of India, which was called Ma'bar by the Arabs, was ruled by the Pandya dynasty with its capital at Madura. The raja had been murdered and his two sons, Sundar Pandya and Vir Pandya were fighting for the throne. Sundar Pandya who was the legal heir, asked for help from Malik Kafur, who was at Dwarsamudra. Malik Kafur proceeded towards Madura in April 1311, and captured it. Then he advanced to the southern-most limit of India and built a grand mosque at Rameshwaram to commemorate the great victories. In October 1311, he returned to Delhi bringing with him 612 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 *mans* of gold and innumerable boxes of pearls and jewels. He was received by the Sulṭan with all honours.

Malik Kafur was again sent for the last time to the Deccan to punish Shankar Deva of Deogir who had refused to pay tribute after his father's death. Deogir was again conquered and made a province of the Sulṭanate.

Administrative Reforms

'Ala-ud-din had learnt from experience that if the Sultanate was to endure he should (1) check the Mongol invasions, (2) curb the power of the nobles, and (3) introduce greater efficiency into the machinery of government. He attended to these problems with an iron will. The security of the State and the establishment of peace and prosperity were uppermost in his mind, and he did not hesitate to punish those who obstructed him in this task.

During the expedition to Ranthambor, three successive rebellions had occurred. He was greatly troubled that such indiscipline should exist at a time when the Sultanate, the last outpost of Islam in the East, was threatened by the Mongols. He, therefore, devised measures to strengthen the defences of the realm and raise the morals of the people.



'Alai Darwaza at the Qutb

He prohibited the use of intoxicants and forbade gatherings where wealthy and idle people would meet. These gatherings were a source of conspiracies and seditions. It was also necessary to curb the power of the nobles, who resisted higher taxation and discipline, in order to strengthen the government. He ordered that matrimonial alliances between powerful nobles should first receive his sanction, and he improved the system of espionage to keep himself informed of all happenings. All grants of land were revised and those who did not deserve any help from the State were deprived of their assignments and holdings. Idlers were not encouraged; and everyone was expected to work for his living so that the State should derive the maximum benefit from its limited Muslim power.

An important measure to prevent fraud was the introduction of *dagh*, a system for the branding of horses.

Economic Reforms

In order to check Mongol inroads effectively 'Ala-ud-din required a large and well-equipped army. But its maintenance entailed heavy expenditure, which was not possible with his limited resources. What a currency based on the intrinsic value of the precious metals, he had only two methods open to him. He raised the income of the State and reduced the cost of the administration and the army. The latter he achieved by a rigid system of price control. He made the accessories of life cheaper and therby reduced the cost of living to a minimum. This wonderful scheme met with remarkable success. A large army was thus maintained without unnecessarily burdening the treasury.

He issued a series of regulations fixing the prices of all necessaries of life and controlling their transport, supply and demand. The price of wheat, rice, pulses, barley, salt, butter, sugar and *gur* were all fixed. Similarly vegetables, fruits, oils, caps, shoes, cloth, silk, arms, combs, needles were all sold at controlled rates. Even the prices of horses, cattle, goats and slaves were fixed.

Price control in some form or other was always a feature of Muslim administration, but 'Ala-ud-din made it more efficient by appointing capable officials and by himself keeping an eye on the department. All traders and merchants had to register themselves in the *diwan-i-riyasat* and to sell their articles in *sarai-'adl*. Smuggling, profiteering and black-marketing were all stopped. Special importance was attached to the storing and selling of grain so that there should be no scarcity. Royal granaries were set up where the entire grain collected from the revenues of the *Doab* and other provincial areas was stored. The cultivators were required to sell all their surplus corn in the fields at the controlled prices to licensed corn-dealers who, in turn, were to carry it to the granaries or the *sarai-'adl*. This procedure prevented the hoarding of even the slightest quantity of corn. The result was that grain was so plentiful that even in times of famine or draught no scarcity was felt. In addition rationing was also introduced to stop hoarding. These regulations were strictly enforced. The Sultan kept himself constantly informed of the merchants through spies and his household servants. Any violation or breach of these laws brought exemplary punishment. The officers also discharged their duties honestly and zealously.

The price control raised the standard of living of the common man and also achieved greater strength and efficiency for the army.

Revenue Reforms

He eliminated corrupt practices exercising great vigilance over his officials and eliminating the middleman. The Hindu officials had exploited the peasants by demanding illegal gratifications. The headmen did not pay the State dues for their area out of their own produce but charged an additional rate of the peasants for that purpose. These malpractices were stopped. The State dues on agricultural produce were assessed on the area cultivated, half the gross produce being charged. A tax called *charai* was charged

on cultivable land used for pasturing. By a strict scrutiny of all grants of land and by revoking those that had been in the hands of idlers and undeserving persons, he further increased the revenues of the State.

'Ala-ud-din's Character

'Ala-ud-din was a great administrator and one of the greatest monarchs of the age. At a time when the Sulṭanate was in great danger of being conquered by the Mongols or falling a prey to internal disruption, he not only rescued it from extinction but also extended its frontiers to the limits of the Indian peninsula. He saved the Muslim nation in the sub-continent from moral decay and infused new life into it, adding to his own greatness by accepting sound advice and rewarding his counsellor, even when the advice was not to his liking. Starting his career as an illiterate prince, he so improved himself that he came to possess the soundest judgment in matters of art and literature. The monarch whose reign produced the *'Alai Darwazah* and the great city of Siri will always be ranked as a great builder. He kept a brilliant court, one of its luminaries being the great Amir Khusrau. He maintained the institutions of Islam in their full splendour and was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of its worldly glory. As a conqueror, a ruler, a planner and a patron of learning and architecture, he enjoys a unique position in history.

'Ala-ud-din's Successors

With his growing age and failing health, 'Ala-ud-din began to lose his grip over the affairs of the State. The incompetence of his sons added to the confusion and the intrigues of Malik Kafur finally sealed the fate of his dynasty. Just before his death in January 1316, Malik Kafur prevailed upon him to imprison his two sons, Khidr Khan and Shadi Khan for conspiracy, and nominate an infant son Shihab-ud-din as successor. On the death of 'Ala-ud-din Kafur became the great regent of the infant Sulṭan. He caused the two imprisoned princes to be blinded;

but when he tried to seize and blind another prince, Mubarak Khan, he met with opposition and himself was killed. Mubarak deposed Shihab-ud-din and ascended the throne in April 1316 with the title of "Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah". He gave himself up entirely to the pursuits of pleasure. All power passed into the hands of his favourite, Khusrau Khan, who murdered the Sultan in 1320 and himself ascended the throne. With the death ended the Khalji dynasty.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF TUGHLUQ

Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din Tughluq (1320-25)

Tughluq's devotion and loyalty to the family of his patron, 'Ala-ud-din and his love for his people compelled him to rise against Khusrau Khan who, besides being a usurper, was thoroughly incapable of bearing the heavy responsibilities of kingship. After his victory over Khusrau he was unanimously elected to the throne by the nobles of the court. We know very little about the ancestors of this remarkable man. He was a Turk. He started his career humbly as an ordinary soldier. Ultimately he became the warden of the north-western marches under 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, and was one of the most trusted and respected officers of the realm. When he came to the throne he was nearly seventy, but he was in full possession of mental and physical vigour.

The new Sulṭan lost no time in introducing a number of benevolent reforms and measures which were necessary for the restoration of peace and prosperity. Works of public welfare, such as the repair and construction of forts and canals, were taken in hand. He devoted great attention to the improvement of agriculture and provided all facilities to the cultivators. The State demand on agricultural produce was again reduced to a fifth of the yield.

During his short reign of less than five years he gave ample proof of his administrative capacity. He was a man of many virtues. As a general he had succeeded in stemming the tide of the Mongol raids and earning the proud title of a "*Ghazi*". As a Sulṭan he not only succeeded in reconquering the Deccan and Bengal but also re-organised the administration of his vast kingdom. The key-note of his policy was moderation, and this endreared him to all classes of his subjects. He was a staunch and pious Muslim, a brave soldier, an able general,

a shrewd statesman and a benevolent monarch. The contemporary historian, Barani, is right when he speaks of his death as a "calamity for the people".

Expeditions

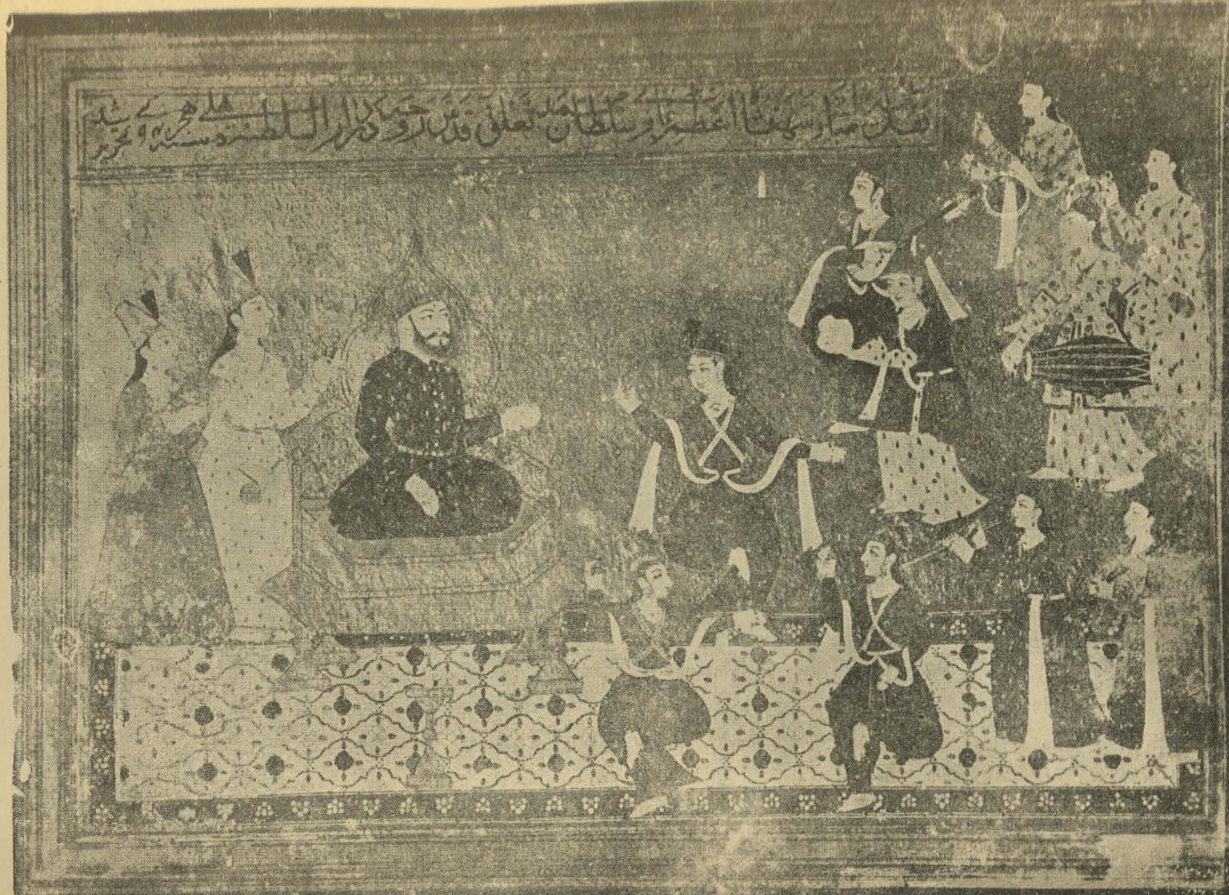
After introducing the most urgent of his reforms the Sulṭan decided to recover Warangal which had become independent. Accordingly an expedition was sent under Juna Khan. The prince conducted the siege of Warangal with such thoroughness that the raja was compelled to purchase peace by promises of tribute. In the meanwhile, however, two of his own followers gave currency to a rumour about his father's death, which naturally threw the whole army into confusion, and forced the prince to raise the siege. Some of the leading nobles, taking advantage of this confusion, raised the standard of revolt and left the camp. Juna Khan had to return to the capital in order to persuade the Sulṭan to punish the mischief-makers.

In 1323 the prince was allowed to lead his second expedition to Warangal which he conquered and annexed. The raja was taken prisoner and sent along with the spoils and trophies of war to Delhi.

After Juna Khan's return the Sulṭan had to leave the capital in response to an appeal from one of the princes who were struggling for power in Bengal. On reaching Lakhnauti, the capital of that province, he ordered the annexation of eastern Bengal, while western Bengal was placed in charge of Nasir-ud-din who had asked for his help. On his way back Ghiyath-ud-din reduced the raja of Tirhut to submission and returned to his capital by forced marches leaving the main army to follow him.

Death

Ulugh Khan, who had been acting as regent during the absence of his father, made preparations on a grand scale to receive him. At Afghanpur, near Delhi, a temporary pavilion was built for the Sulṭan to take rest for a day before his entry into the capital. This structure



Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq

collapsed when the Sulṭan was taking the midday meal, and he was buried under the debris and died. A careful study of contemporary and later works proves beyond doubt that the collapse of the pavilion was purely accidental and not the result of any plot as has been asserted by some of the hostile critics of Sulṭan Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

Muhammad bin Tughluq

Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who ascended the throne after the death of his father, is one of the most remarkable figures of our history. All the well known historians say that he was a man of many virtues. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was one of the most gifted of Indo-Pakistan rulers, yet he was unpopular because of the novelty of the schemes which he insisted on enforcing even at the expense of creating disaffection. A man of wide learning and deep erudition, he was particularly interested in mathematics, astronomy and medicine. Sometimes he would write prescriptions for the patients and enter into lengthy discussions with eminent physicians. He was well versed in philosophy and logic and was an expert in the art of calligraphy. He could write prose as well as poetry of high order and was gifted by nature with a strong memory. His moral character was spotless. He observed the laws and practices of Islam with devotion and regularity, and at the same time was absolutely free from bigotry. He had a very high sense of justice, and according to the African traveller, Ibn Baṭṭuṭah, appeared in person as a respondent in the court of a *qaḍi* and duly carried out the orders issued by the court. In one case a young man lodged a complaint that he had been beaten without cause by the arbitrary orders of the Sulṭan. The *qaḍi* found the complaint to be true and gave his judgment against the "royal offender" who was duly punished.

Before his accession Muḥammad bin Tughluq had gained sufficient experience in administrative work. In spite of this experience he was not successful as a ruler. The reason why

he failed to carry out his reforms and projects lay in the fact that those who were entrusted with their enforcement were opposed to them. His intention was always good, and he never ignored the interests of the people in initiating his new schemes. He was therefore unable to understand why there should be any opposition to his measures. Naturally he attributed it to the activities of the mischief-mongers on whom he inflicted severe punishment without regard to position or birth. Thus every new scheme brought a new series of punishments which ultimately created an impression that he was an unscrupulous tyrant. It would not be correct to throw the entire blame on this well-intentioned monarch. Perhaps his greatest weakness was that he made no allowance for the social and economic difficulties of those days and the feelings of his nobles and officers.

Expansion of the Empire: Qarachal Expedition

Muḥammad bin Tughluq's scheme of sending an expedition against a border state in the Himalayan region has been wrongly interpreted as an attempt to conquer China. On this presumption many writers have declared him guilty of attempting the impossible. But, in fact, it was directed against a local chief in the Qarachal (Himalayas) and was aimed at strengthening the frontiers. The commander of the expedition, Khusrau Malik, was asked to establish military posts on his route to keep the communications intact. He seems to have obeyed these instructions and captured the strongholds of the enemy. He, however, penetrated deeper into the mountains where the rains and disease contributed to his failure. His line of communications which had grown too long was broken by hill torrents. The hillmen fell upon his forces; the disaster was complete. Only ten persons returned to inform the Sulṭan of the tragic end of th expedition. It is clear that the responsibility of failure lay on the commander of the expedition and not on the Sulṭan.

Khurasan

Muḥammad bin Tughluq tried to maintain diplomatic relations with Transoxiana because of his desire to lead a campaign to Khurasan which had fallen into a state of confusion. The Sultan had kept himself well-informed about the country through some of its important nobles. To give a practical shape to this scheme he recruited a large army of about 3,70,000 men and succeeded in persuading the rulers of Egypt and Transoxiana to cooperate with him. But before the campaign could be undertaken the conditions in Khurasan became more settled and the Sultan wisely decided to abandon the project.

Taxation in the Doab

The Sultan increased the State demand on agricultural produce by five to ten per cent making it from one-fouth to one-third of the gross yield in the Doab, because of the fertility of the soil. 'Ala-ud-din Khalji had realized half of the gross produce and had met with success. As the Mongol danger had disappeared, the peasants were averse to an increase in the revenue. In addition, many of them had been disbanded from the army after the abandonment of the Khurasan project and were already discontented. They rose in rebellion. The Sultan suppressed the rebellion and tried to restore normal conditions for the agriculturists by digging a large number of wells and by issuing loans.

Daulatabad as a Second Capital

It is said that Muḥammad bin Tughluq transferred his capital from Delhi to Deogir which was given the name of Daulatabad. All kinds of fantastic stories have been told about this measure. Some say that the entire population of Delhi was transferred to Daulatabad.

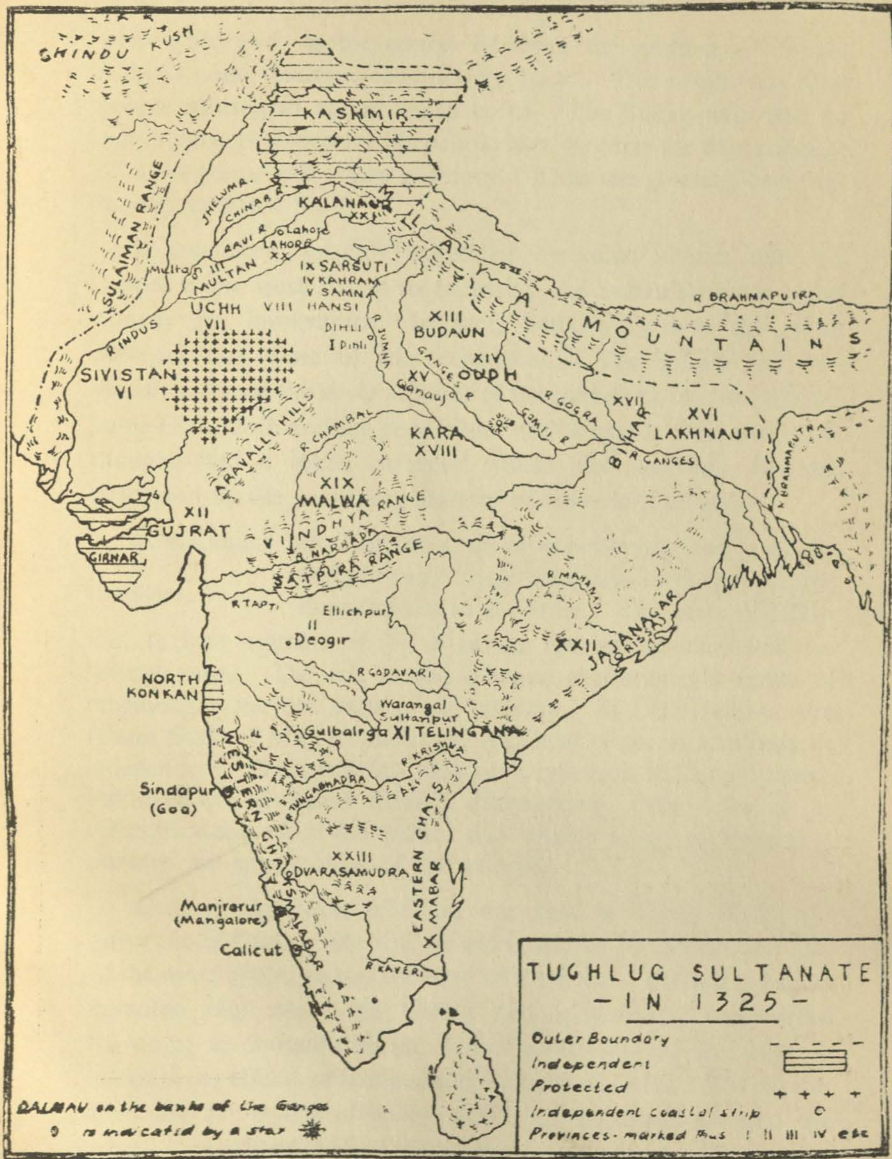
'Ala-ud-din was the first Muslim monarch to conquer the Deccan states, but he had mostly left their administration in the hands of the local chiefs and rajas. Muḥammad bin Tughluq wanted to consolidate the authority of the Central Government

and establish the culture and religion of Islam in the South. It was, therefore, with the twofold purpose—cultural and political—that he ordered the migration of the leading *shaikhs* and scholars as well as some of the influential nobles and courtiers of Delhi. In fact, Muḥammad bin Tughluq was anxious to have a second capital in the Empire from which he could direct his activities and control the administration of the South. This was perhaps the only or at least the best way of governing the distant territories of the South, because the means of communication were slow and few. Besides this the Sultan was fully conscious of the fact that for the maintenance and stability of his administration in the South it was necessary to have a Muslim population there. Hence he took along with him a number of *shaikhs* and *'ulama* to preach Islam to the people in addition to the courtiers and officers of State who were to help the Sultan set up a new system of direct administration. Delhi, however, continued to be the capital of the Empire.

It is wrong to think that the Sultan's policy failed; it succeeded so well that Muslim rule lasted longer in the South and came to an end only with the occupation of Hyderabad by Bharat. The first result of the Sultan's activities was the rise and growth of a powerful Muslim State in the South. It is rather interesting to note that the Bahmani Sultanate which was born of a rebellion against Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq drew its main strength from sources which were the direct outcome of his own policy.

Coinage

Perhaps the most ingenious and the boldest of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's measures was that of a token currency. He issued copper instead of silver coins. The basic principle underlying his scheme of issuing copper coins of the face value of silver ones was the same as that of our paper currency. But the scheme ended in failure because his government was unable to control the forging of coins on a


HINDU KUSH
KASHMIR
SULAIMAN RANGE
JHELUM R.
CHINAB R.
RAVI R.
KALANAUR
XXI
Lahore
LAHORE
XX
Multan III
MULTAN
IX SARSUTI
IV KAHRAM
V SAMNA
HANSI
UCHH
VII
VIII
R INDUS
DIHLI
I Dihli
R JUMNA
XIII
BUDAUN
XIV
OUDH
XV
Qanauj
GANGES R
R GOGRA
GOMTI R
SIVISTAN
VI
ARAVALLI HILLS
R CHAMBAL
KARA
XVIII
XVII
BIHAR
XVI
LAKHNAUTI
R GANGES
R BRAHMAPUTRA
MOUNTAINS
XIX
MALWA
VINDHYA RANGE
XII
GUJRAT
GIRNAR
R NARBADA
SATPURA RANGE
R TAPTI
Ellichpur
II
Deogir
R MAHANADI
XXII
JAJNAGAR
ORISSA
R GODAVARI
NORTH KONKAN
Warangal
Sultanpur
Gulbarga
XI TELINGANA
R KRISHNA
Sindapur
(Goa)
R TUNGABHADRA
WESTERN GHATS
EASTERN GHATS
XXIII
DVARASAMUDRA
MABAR
X
Manjrerur
(Mangalore)
Calicut
MALABAR
R KAVERI
DALMAU on the banks of the Ganges
is indicated by a star
TUGHLUG SULTANATE
- IN 1325 -
Outer Boundary
Independent
Protected
Independent coastal strip
Provinces- marked thus I II III IV etc

wide scale and, in the course of time, the number of copper (token) coins became enormously large. The result was that people refused to accept token coins. The Sultan who had no evil intentions to deceive his people issued orders for the exchange of silver coins with token currency. Thus the greatest loser was the Government itself.

It has been wrongly suggested by some writers that the copper coins were issued to replenish the Sultan's treasury and remedy his bankruptcy. In fact, bankruptcy was the result and not the cause of this texperiment. The Sultan had previously reduced the silver content of the *tankah* below the intrinsic value of the coin and the people had not objected. He, therefore, thought that a token currency would also succeed. He was prompted by the prevailing scarcity of silver in that period.

Rebellions

Muḥammad bin Tughluq's novel experiments had undoubtedly brought some hardships to the people and financial loss to the State. This state of affairs was further aggravated by a severe famine which lasted for several years. The fall in the revenue encouraged a series of rebellions in various parts of the country. In 1335 Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar raised the standard of revolt and became independent. This was followed by a rebellion in Bengal where Fakhr-ud-din declared himself autonomous ruler. Owing to difficulties elsewhere the Sultan was unable to go to Bengal to attempt the suppression of the usurper.

Another important rebellion was that of 'Ainul Mulk, the governor of Oudh. He was an old freind of the Sultan and one of the most distinguished servants of the State. He had rendered valuable help when the Sultan had temporarily transferred his court to Sargadwari (in Farrukhabad district) in order to mitigate the effects of famine on the people of Delhi. But shortly after this his policy of giving shelter to the rebels aroused the Sultan's suspicions of him and orders were issued for his transfer

to Daulatabad. 'Ainul Mulk, however, defied these orders and revolted. But he could not stand before the royal forces and was defeated and captured. The Sultan remembering his past services treated him generously and took him back into service.

Recognition by the *Khalifah* (1345)

When the Sultan was at Swargadwari it occurred to him that he could not legitimately occupy his throne without obtaining a formal recognition from the *Khalifah*. He, therefore, sent a petition accompanied with costly presents to the *Khalifah* in Egypt. But it was not before 1345 that the *Khalifah's* letters patent could reach him.

Loss of the South

Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah's successful revolt in Ma'bar was followed by the foundation of the Hindu State of Vijayanagar by Hari Hara and his brother, Bukka Rai in 1336. The independent Muslim kingdom of Ma'bar was absorbed into Vijayanagar. In 1334 Warangal was also lost to the Empire. The Sultan was now forced to devote his entire attention to the South. Qutlugh Khan was recalled from the Deccan and in the new arrangements, made by the Sultan, Malwa was placed in charge of 'Aziz Khammar. He had received particular instructions to crush the *amiran-i-sadah* (centurians) who were mainly responsible for all the trouble in the Deccan. 'Aziz foolishly excited a fresh rebellion by executing eighty-nine of the *amirs* in front of his official residence. The *amiran-i-sadah* plundered the caravan which was taking the provincial revenues to the capital. The Sultan immediately marched to Gujrat and crushed the rebels. In the meantime some of the Deccan *amirs* killed the royal officers and seized the fort and treasury of Daulatabad. Subsequently they proclaimed one of their leaders, Isma'il Mukh Afghan, as king of the Deccan under the title of Nasir-ud-din Shah. On hearing this the Sultan returned from Gujrat, defeated the rebels and laid siege to the fort of Daulatabad, But one of them,

Ḥasan by name, managed to escape with some of his companions to Gulbarga. The siege was still in progress when the seriousness of Ṭaghi's rebellion in Gujrat compelled the Sultan to leave Daulatabad which was soon attacked and captured by Ḥasan. Isma'il Mukh who was an old man abdicated, and on August 3, 1347, Ḥasan was declared Sultan and ascended the throne under the title of Abul Muẓaffar 'Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah. Thus was laid the foundation of the Bahmani Sultanate of the South.

Death of Muhammud bin Tughluq

The Sultan was greatly annoyed by this new development but he would not leave Gujrat because he was determined to crush Ṭaghi who, although defeated in several engagements, was still at large in Kathiawar. The imperialists followed him there and forced him to take shelter in Sind. In October 1350, the Sultan, who had summoned re-inforcements from Delhi, set out for Thatta to punish the Jam for harbouring the rebellious Ṭaghi. But when he was within a few miles of his destination he had an attack of fever which proved fatal. He died on Ṃarch 20, 1351.

CHAPTER XIX

SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Sultan Firuz Shah

Muḥammad bin Tughluq had died suddenly and thus the imperial army and camp were left without a leader. Delhi was far away and all around were hostility and danger. The Mongol contingent in the imperial army also deserted and joined the rebels. For a time it looked as if the whole imperial army, treasury and the royal family might fall into the hands of the rebels. The nobles elected Firuz Shah to the throne. When they requested Firuz to accept the crown, he showed a certain amount of hesitation, but this was soon overcome when they pointed out the dangers of the situation. On the 25th March, 1351, Firuz ascended the throne with popular acclamation. The army took heart and under the command of the new sovereign began to punish the rebel attacks. Soon it was on the offensive and secured its passage northward.

Sultan Firuz Shah was one of the noblest and the most humane monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Delhi. In medieval times his memory was tenderly cherished by the people. He was the son of Sipahsalar Rajab who was the younger brother of Ghiyath-ud-din Tughluq, and cousin of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. His mother was a Hindu Jat princess of Dipalpur. He was born in 1308. The early live of Firuz Shah eminently qualified him to shoulder the manifold responsibilities of a Muslim ruler. From early life he was trained to be an administrator and occupied the important post of *amir -i- hajib* under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. The relations between the cousins were those of mutual affection and trust. Shortly before his death Muḥammad bin Tughluq had appointed Firuz as one of his vicegerents at Delhi.

Khwajah Jahan Ahmad Ayaz, the *wazir* of the last monarch, set up a child on the throne and proclaimed him to be the son

of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Firuz kept the news from the army and marched on to Delhi by slow stages. Khwajah Jahan was, however, fast losing ground. The defection and flight of the leading noble, Qiwamul Mulk Maqbul, made his position impossible. Qiwamul Mulk joined Firuz Shah at Fathabad. A few days later Khwajah Jahan also came to the royal court and made his submission. Firuz Shah was willing to pardon him, but the nobles, led by Qiwamul Mulk, protested, and had their way. A few days later Khwajah Jahan was beheaded. After reaching Delhi, Firuz Shah appointed Qiwamul Mulk his *wazir* and gave him the title of *Khan-i-Jahan.* Firuz Shah after accession was anxious to remove disaffection by a policy of conciliation. The money and valuables which had been distributed by Aḥmad Ayaz when he was organising resistance to Firuz Shah were written off, and the relevant records were publicly destroyed. The nobles, the learned and the *mashaikh* were given large assignments and grants. The Sultan was equally anxious to improve the condition of the people and the peasantry.

Bengal Campaign

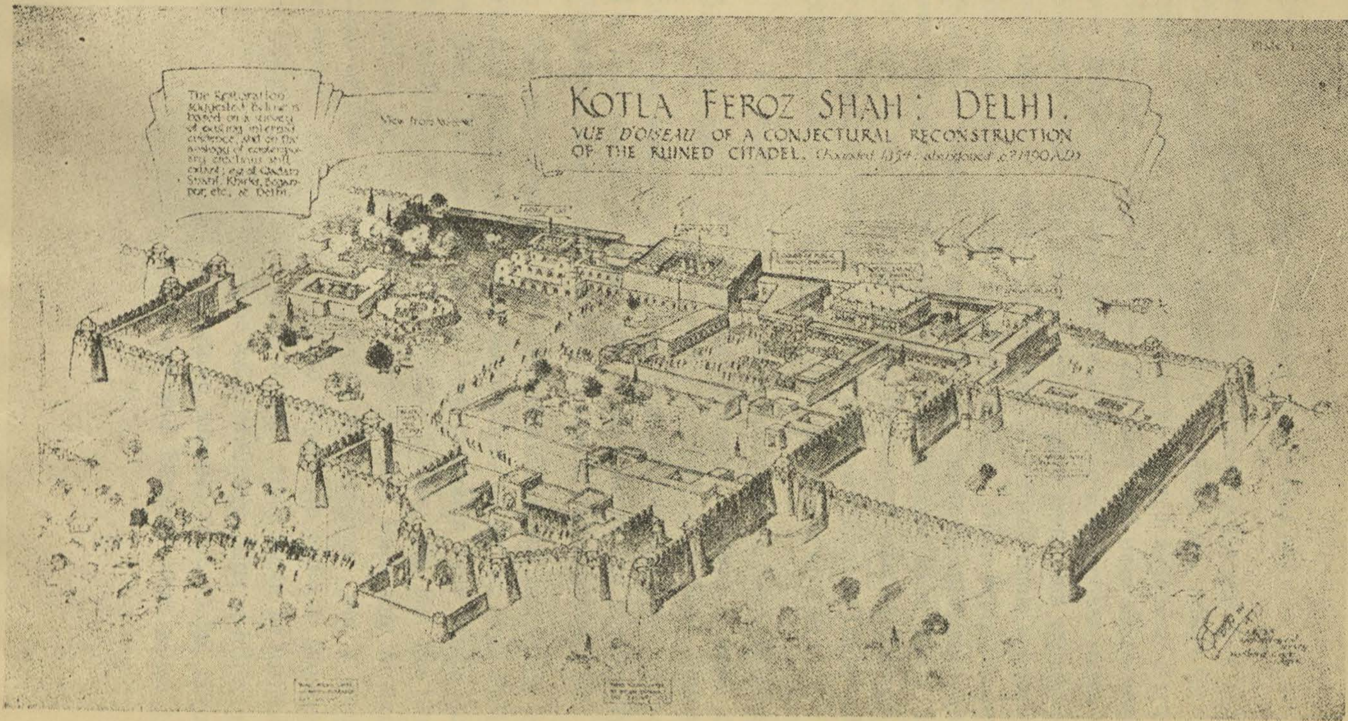
Firuz Shah led a campaign to Bengal in 1353-54, where Ḥaji Shams-ud-din Ilyas, taking advantage of the prevailing confusion in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, had captured power and declared himself independent. He had even occupied certain places in Behar. Firuz Shah reached Pandua and defeated him. Ḥaji Ilyas fled and shut himself up in the strong fortress of Ikdala. It was already the month of May (1354 A. C.) and the rainy season was close at hand. Unwilling to face a monsoon in Bengal, Firuz Shah patched up a peace with Ḥaji Ilyas and returned to Delhi after receiving his partial submission. The death of Ḥaji Ilyas, who was a wise and strong ruler, gave Firuz Shah another opportunity. His successor, Sikandar, took care to send presents to Firuz Shah. This did not deter Firuz Shah in his ambition

to conquer Bengal, and he started eastward in the spring of 1359. Once again the fortress of Ikdala provided a safe refuge for its master. When the siege became prolonged Sikandar started negotiations. Firuz Shah was also tired and once again peace was patched up. Firuz Shah conceded an independent status to Sikandar Shah. So the substantial gain from this expedition was again very small. On his way back Firuz made a hunting excursion into Jajnagar (modern Orissa). After being pursued from place to place, the *rai* of Jajnagar made his submission and was pardoned. While moving out of Jajnagar Firuz Shah lost his way in the wild and uneven tract north-west of Jajnagar. For a while he lost all touch with the government at Delhi only reaching the capital finally in about the middle of 1361.

Other Campaigns

A few years later Firuz led an expedition to the famous fortress of Nagarkot (Kangra). After a siege of several months, in which Firuz Shah showed his usual weakness, peace was arranged through compromise. The raja was left in possession of his fortress and principality. Firuz Shah also visited the famous temple of Jwalamukhi.

The next campaign was directed towards the reconquest of Thatta. After making great preparations he set out from Delhi in 1366. The conduct of the long campaign fully brings out the weakness of Firuz as a military leader. He lost the first round to the Sindhis who under the able leadership of Jam Khair-ud-dun Jauna and Sadr-ud-din Banbina put a stout resistance. Firuz now set out to Gujarat in order to improve his equipment and increase his forces. Once again he lost his way while passing through the Rann of Cutch. After re-inforcing his troops in Gujarat and getting supplies from Delhi, Firuz marched into Sind. Jam Jauna and Banbina were taken to Delhi.


KOTLA FEROZ SHAH: DELHI.
VUE D'OISEAU OF A CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE RUINED CITADEL.

Reforms

Firuz showed keen solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. Once again, he lowered the state demand on agricultural produce to one-fifth of the yield. Firuz dug many canals and sank numerous wells to bring new areas under cultivation. He forbade the levy of illegal cesses and taxes by unscrupulous officials. As a result of these beneficent reforms prices were low and the people enjoyed peace and plenty.

Architecture

Firuz built several cities and numerous mosques, *sarais*, roads and dams (*bands*). The remains of his capital, Firuzabad, can still be seen near Delhi. The cities of Jaunpur (named after his late cousin Muḥammad bin Tughluq) and Ḥisar (its full name was Hisar Firuza) were also built by him. Firuz deserves great praise for his interest in the preservation of the archæological remains of the earlier periods. He repaired many old monuments, including the *Qutb Minar* and the *Dargah* of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Aulia. He removed two of Ashoka's pillars and set them up in his capital.

Charitable Institutions

Firuz Shah abolished torture and inhuman punishments. He improved the conditions in the prisons. He gave subventions to poor parents for the marriage of their daughters. He also established hospitals and poor-houses. He was keenly interested in education and built several colleges, while the ruins of his university can still be seen at *Haud Khas* near Delhi. Under his fostering care Jaunpur also devoted into a famous centre of learning.

Last Years of Firuz Shah

Firuz Shah was already forty-five when he ascended the throne. He maintained good health except for the last few years of his life. He was fond of outdoor life and hunting and was of a kind and humane temperament. These qualities won the deep loyalty and affection of his people. However, his ill placed

kindness adversely affected the efficiency of his administration. The nobles gained in power, and when in the last years of his life the Sultan's mental and physical powers began to fail, they began to make trouble. His eldest and ablest son, Fath Khan, had died young. As the result of a quarrel between Khan Jahan Juna, the *wazir*, and the heir-apparent, Muḥammad Shah, the Empire fell into a state of anarchy and decay, with the result that the Sultanate shrank to a few districts west of Delhi and two puppets ruled in the capital within a distance of a few miles.

Timur's Invasion (1398-99)

Timur, the renowned Turkish conqueror, had established a great Empire in Central Asia, with Samarqand as its capital. Persia and Afghanistan also formed part of his Empire. The disintegration and decay of the Sultanate and its helplessness in maintaining the Muslim power in the subcontinent provided an excellent excuse to Timur. He sent in advance his grandson, Pir Muḥammad, who took Uchh and Multan. Timur now advanced with the main army. City after city fell to him. When he reached the outskirts of Delhi, Firuz Shah's grandson, Sultan Maḥmud and his protector, Mallu Iqbal, came out to give battle, but were utterly defeated. Maḥmud escaped to Gujarat leaving his wife and children at the capital. Timur entered the capital which was given up to loot and slaughter. The skilled artisans were made captive and taken to Samarqand. Timur left Delhi, a much impoverished city. His invasion quickened and completed the process of disintegration. It was a stunning blow, from the effects of which the Empire of Delhi took long to recover. Both Mallu and Maḥmud returned to Delhi but their prestige had been seriously shaken. Maḥmud died in 1413, after a nominal and inglorious reign of 20 years.

CHAPTER XX

THE SAYYIDS AND THE LODIS

Khidr Khan

Khidr Khan was the son of Malik Sulaiman, a governor of Multan under Firuz Shah. His sole claim to be a Sayyid rests on an utterance of the saint Sayyid Jalal Bukhari. Timur on the eve of his departure appointed him governor of Multan and Dipalpur. Taking advantage of the prevailing confusion Khiḍr occupied the whole of the Punjab in 1414, conquered Delhi after defeating and capturing Daulat Khan, a noble who had been raised to the throne after the death of Maḥmud.

Khiḍr Khan could maintain only a semblance of authority over the Punjab and the Doab and had to lead annual expeditions to realize his revenue. He did not assume the royal title and in private life was a generous and pious man.

Mubarak Shah and his Successors

Khiḍr Khan was succeeded by his son who assumed the title of Mubarak Shah. He was the most powerful ruler of his dynasty. He waged almost a ceaseless war against the Khokhars, who, under their leader, Jasrath, had overrun the Punjab. Shaikh 'Ali, the Timurid governor of Kabul led four incursions into the Punjab in response to an appeal by Jasrath, but was defeated every time with heavy losses.

He had to fight constantly against the Rajput chiefs in the Doab and Katehr. He had also to lead expeditions against Mewat and Biana. In response to an appeal by the chief of Biana, Ibrahim Shah Sharqi sent a strong force against Mubarak Shah which was completely defeated near Patiali. He was assassinated at the instigation of his *wazir* in the mosque where he had gone to offer his prayers. He was a just and benevolent ruler.

Mubarak Shah was succeeded by his nephew, Muḥammad Shah, who was weak and incompetent. In 1443 Sultan Maḥmud

Shah Khalji of Malwa having laid siege to Delhi, Muḥammad Shah called Buhlul Lodi to his assistance, who defeated the Malwa forces. After this the Sultan relapsed into his usual indolence.

'Ala-ud-din 'Alam Shah, son and successor of Muḥammad Shah, came to the throne in 1444. He was more indolent and incompetent than his father. He abandoned Delhi and stayed in Badaun, leaving the seat of the Empire in the hands of Ḥamid Khan, the rebel *wazir.*

The Lodis

Ḥamid Khan called Buhlul from the Punjab and appointed him the commander-in-chief of his army. Buhlul overthrew Ḥamid Khan. He, however, allowed Sultan 'Ala-ud-din 'Alam Shah to remain in Badaun till his death in 1476, because he regarded him as his foster-brother. Buhlul Lodi thus founded the Lodi dynasty. He gradually extended his authority to the Punjab, Mewat and the Doab. The Sharqi monarch, Maḥmud Shah, laid siege to Delhi but Buhlul succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on him in 1452. The struggle with the Sharqis continued until Buhlul succeeded in conquering and annexing their kingdom.

Buhlul Lodi also intervened in the war of succession in Mewar, where he defeated the Rajputs completely at Nathdwara and reduced the Rana to vassalage. He died near Etah in 1489, while returning to Delhi from Gwalior, at the age of eighty.

Buhlul was a strict follower of Islam, generous, forbearing and clement, extremely simple in dress and habits and very considerate to the nobles. He was kind and affectionate towards friends and relatives and tolerant to non-Muslims. He did not use throne nor ride a decorated horse, maintaining the democratic traditions of the Afghans by regarding himself only as the first among his peers. If any noble took offence he visited his house to pacify him. Guards being taken off at meal time, every stranger had the liberty of dining with him at his table. He worked hard and transacted state business regularly.

As a soldier he was brave and chivalrous, yet he resorted to strategem in war. His coin known as the Buhluli remained for long the standard medium of exchange.

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)

On Buhlul Lodi's death his second son, Prince Niẓam Khan, was raised to the throne under the title of Sikandar Lodi. He subdued all his rivals. Barbak Shah, his brother and governor of Jaunpur, was defeated near Kanauj but was pardoned and restored. The last *Sharqi* monarch Ḥusain Shah who still held Behar was defeated; Behar was annexed to the Empire, and its borders now extended up to Bengal. Sikandar concluded a treaty of friendship with 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah, the ruler of Bengal, guaranteeing mutual frontiers. In 1505, Sikandar Lodi founded the city of Agra, after selecting the site personally. The suburb of Sikandra is named after him.

Sikandar died of cancer of the throat at Delhi. He lies buried near *Safdar Jang* in new Delhi.

Sikandar's Character

Sikandar is described by the historians as possessing extraordinary physical charm, a prodigious memory, and capacity to work with almost ceaseless energy. He was a strict Muslim.

He was just, charitable, a benefactor of his people and a friend of the learned and the holy. He spent the day in transacting State business and the night in the company of the learned. In the morning he examined dispatches from the provinces, transmitted daily to his court, particularly those about prices of commodities. He sent daily instructions to army officers, on march or at halt, irrespective of the distance from the metropolis. His court was open to petitioners at all hours of the day or night. He himself took intense delight in deciding complicated judicial cases.

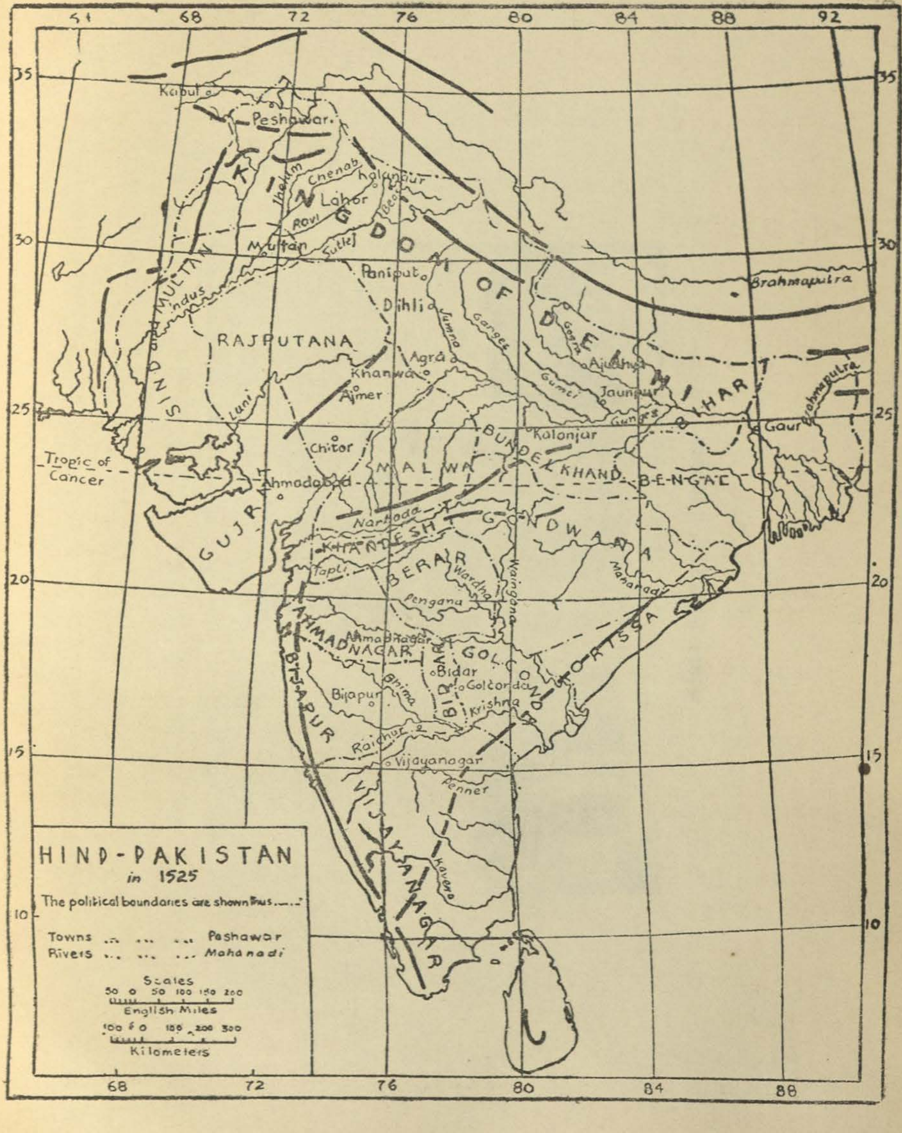
Sikandar was a poet of no mean merit. He composed under the pen-name of *Gulrukh*. Sikandar developed a deep friendship and regard for Maulana Jamali, renowned *sufi* and poet. It was at Sikandar's instance that Miyan Buhwa, the *wazir*, translated into Persian the *Maha-Vyadak*, a Sanskrit work on medicine, which was renamed *Tibbi-i-Sikandari*. Miyan Buhwa was a great patron of learning, with a genius for inventing mechanical devices. During his reign the study of Persian became popular with the Hindus, the period producing a notable Hindu poet, Dungar.

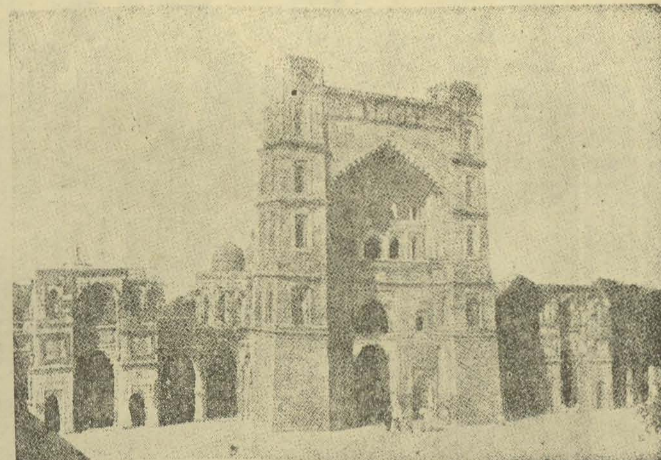
Sikandar Lodi was a great lover of Indian music and an administrator of no mean calibre. He reorganised the administration on sound lines and exercised extreme vigilance, so efficient was his department of intelligence that he was credited with supernatural powers.

Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26)

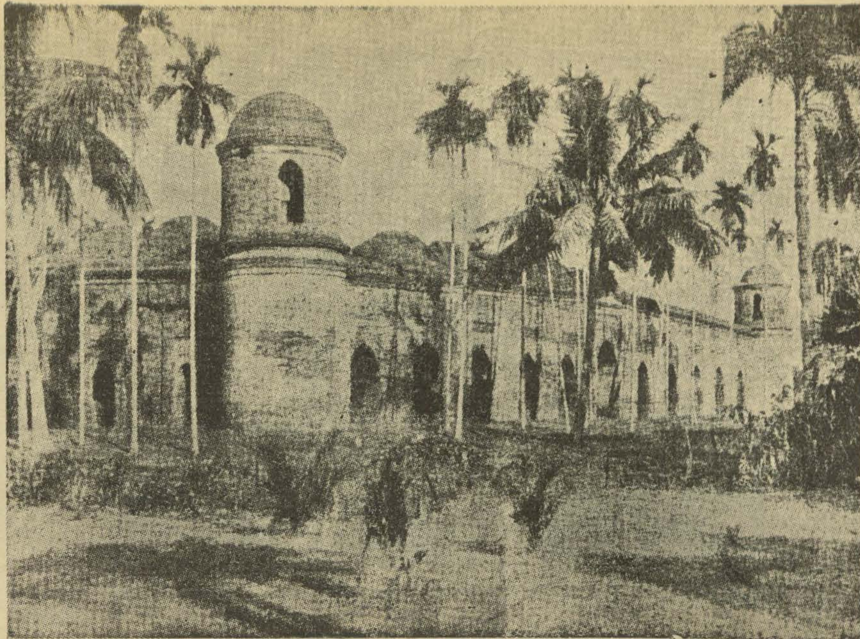
After Sikandar's death the nobles placed Ibrahim Khan, his eldest son, on the throne of Agra, while Jalal Khan, the younger son, was allowed to occupy Jaunpur. Ibrahim soon came into conflict with him, and this led ultimately to Jalal Khan's defeat and execution. Ibrahim tried to enforce strict discipline amongst the nobles and to maintain rigid etiquette at the court. This resulted in disaffection. When men like 'Azam Khan Sherwani and Miyan Buhwa were executed the nobles rose in open rebellion. One of them, Daulat Khan, invited Babur from Kabul. Babur's invasion resulted in a crushing defeat of Ibrahim Lodi who died valiantly fighting on the battle-field.

Ibrahim Lodi failed because he did not understand the nature of the Afghan sentiment. He wanted to enforce the traditions of the strong monarchy of the Sultanate. His father was more tactful and had, therefore, succeeded in extending his authority. Ibrahim possessed neither the tact and patience of his father nor his ability.


HIND-PAKISTAN
in 1525
The political boundaries are shown thus
Towns Peshawar
Rivers Mahanadi
Scales
English Miles
Kilometers
Kabul
Peshawar
Lahor
Jalandhar
Multan
Panipat
Dihli
Agra
Khanwa
Ajmer
Chitor
Ahmadabad
Kalanjar
Jaunpur
Ajudhya
Gaur
Ahmadnagar
Bidar
Golconda
Bijapur
Raichur
Vijayanagar
KINGDOM OF DELHI
MULTAN
SIND
RAJPUTANA
GUJRAT
MALWA
BUNDELKHAND
BIHAR
BENGAL
GONDWANA
KHANDESH
BERAR
AHMADNAGAR
BIDAR
GOLCONDA
BIJAPUR
ORISSA
VIJAYANAGAR
Indus
Jhelum
Chenab
Ravi
Beas
Sutlej
Luni
Jumna
Ganges
Gogra
Gumti
Brahmaputra
Narbada
Tapti
Wardha
Waingana
Pengana
Mahanadi
Bhima
Krishna
Penner
Kaveri
Tropic of Cancer



Atala Mosque, Jaunpur



Sath Gumbaz Mosque at Bagerhat

CHAPTER XXI

MINOR DYNASTIES

The Muslim Empire of Delhi disintegrated into provincial states with the growing weakness of the Central Government. The invasion of Timur so enfeebled it that control could no longer be exercised over distant provinces.

Sharqi Kings

The city of Jaunpur, the metropolis of the Sharqi kingdom, was founded by Firuz Shah in 1358. In 1394, Firuz Shah's grandson appointed Khwajah-i-Jahan Malikush-Sharq governor of eastern provinces, from Kanauj to Behar. Before his death in 1399 Khwajah Jahan had made the entire area including Oudh and Tirhut law-abiding and had become independent. His successor, Mubarak Shah, was perhaps an Abyasianmian slave. Mubarak Shah with his munificence to scholars and learned men, enhanced the reputation of Jaunpur as a great centre of learning. His son, Maḥmud Shah (1440-56), conquered Champaran in Behar, levied tribute from the kingdom of Orissa and annexed the Doab up to Etawa. His son Ḥusain Shah launched upon a career of conquest and came into conflict with Buhlul Lodi by whom he was ultimately defeated; the major portion of the Sharqi kingdom was annexed to the Lodi Empire. Sikandar Lodi annexed the remnants of Ḥusain Shah's dominion and he died in exile in Bengal as a guest of the ruler.

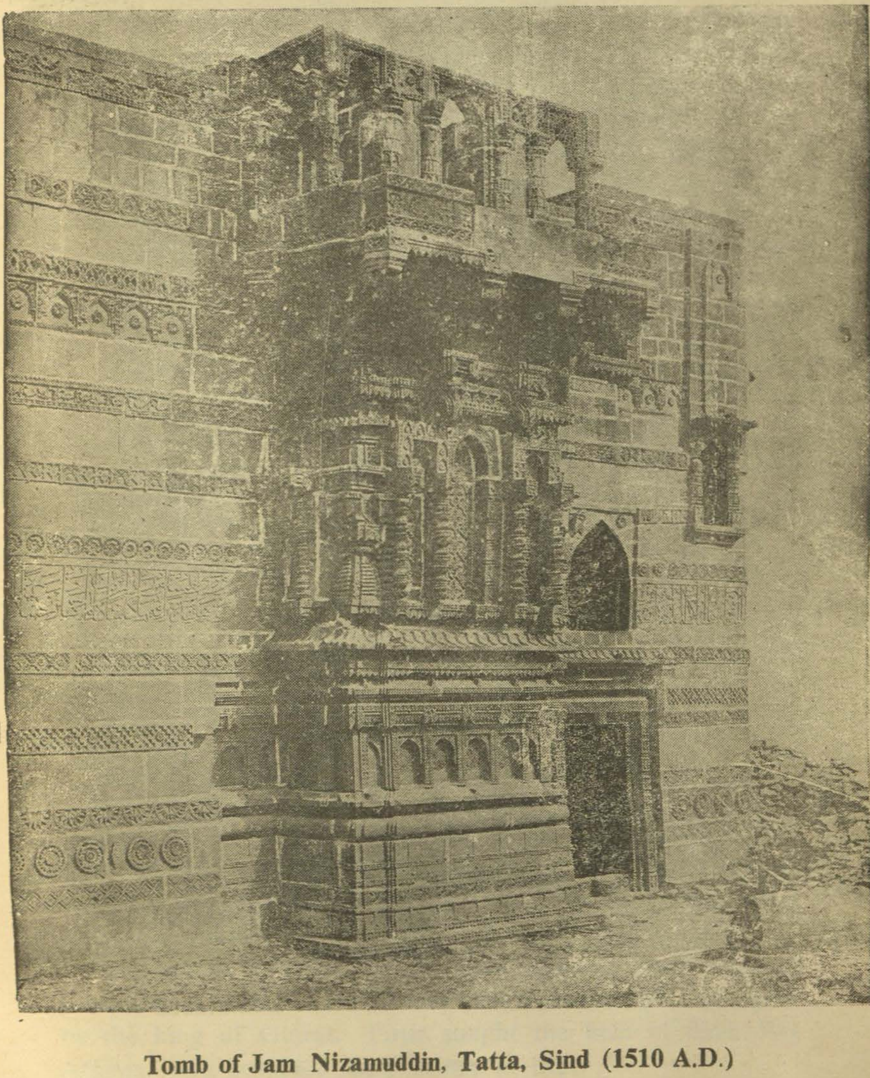
Jaunpur was not only a seat of learning but also evolved a distinct style of architecture distinguished by boldness of design and strength of construction. Its mosques have battlemented walls and huge propylons.

Bengal

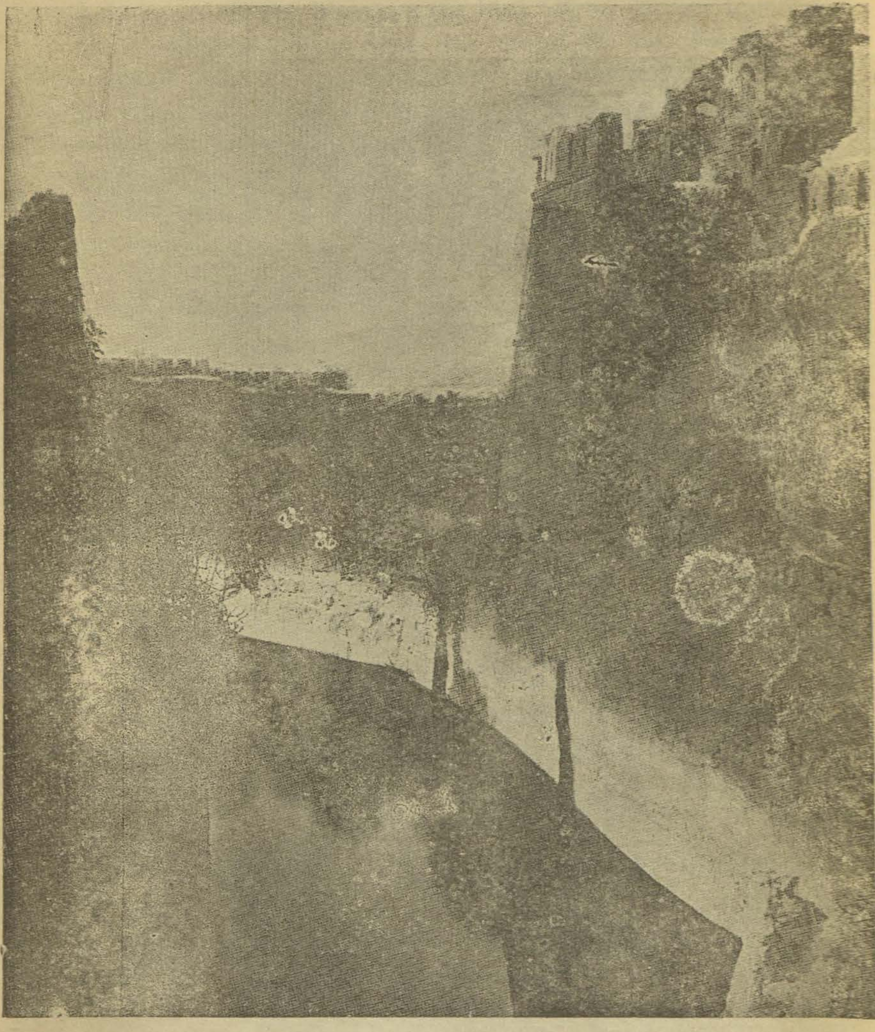
During its existence as an independent kingdom, Bengal was ruled by several dynasties; (1) The Khalji Dynasty, represented by Sultan Mubarak Shah in Sonargaon and 'Ala-ud-din Shah ('Ali Mubarak Khalji), at

Lakhnauti; (2) the Bhangara (or Ilyas Shahi) dynasty founded by Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah who united the two Bengals by conquest and whose independence was recognised by Firuz Shah in 1354; (3) the local dynasty of Bhaturia zamindar founded by a Kans, whose son Jadu was converted to Islam by the famous saint Sayyid Quṭbul 'Alam and assumed the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-din; (4) the restored Ilyas Shahi dynasty; (5) and (6) two Abyssinian dynasties founded respectively by Malik Andil, and Sidi Badr; (7) the Sayyid dynasty founded by 'Ala-ud-din Ḥusain Shah. He was the most powerful ruler of Bengal. After the death of Sikandar Lodi, he extended his influence over Orissa and the whole of Behar. He was a veteran builder, a patron of the learned and the pious and a benefactor of his people. His son and successor, Nusrat Shah, was a contemporary of Babur with whom he cultivated friendly relations. Sultan Maḥmud, the last representative of Ḥusain-Shahi dynasty, was supplanted by Sher Shah Sur. The Suris ruled from 1532 to 1563; (8) Sulaiman Kararani founded the Kararani dynasty of the last independent kings of Bengal. Akbar's generals conquered the country by defeating Daud Khan, son of Sulaiman Kararani.

The Sultans of Bengal were great builders, and ruins of their buildings are extant at Gaur and Pandua. They built with bricks because stone was not locally available. 'Ala-ud-din Ḥusain Shah built the Chhota Sona Masjid and his own tomb in Gaur; his son, Nusrat Shah, constructed the Bara Sona and Qadam Rasul mosques. The huge Adina mosque of Pandua (containing 400 small domes) was built by Sikandar Shah, son of Ilyas Shah (1368). The Bengali language and literature owe much to the Sultans of Bengal. Krittiba's translation of the *Ramayana* at the orders of Nuṣrat Shah has played the same part in Bengal as Tulsidas's Hindi version in northern India. Two Bengali versions of the *Mahabharata* were prepared by Ḥusain Shah and Nuṣrat Shah respectively. Vidyapati Thakur



Tomb of Jam Nizamuddin, Tatta, Sind (1510 A.D.)



Rock-Hewn Moat Around the Citadel at Daulatabad

of Mithila dedicated his works to Nuṣrat Shah and speaks with admiration of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din. The zeal of the Sultans in patronising Persian can be measured by the invitation and presents in cash which Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din sent to Khwajah Ḥafiz. Though Persian was the language of the court Bengali was spoken by the majority of the people. The land was very fertile, harvests were abundant and prices low. Bengal had trade relations with south India, China, Persia and Ḥijaz; Chatgaon (Chittagong) and Satgaon (on the Hugli) were its principal ports. The Hindus held high administrative posts. Many Bengali family names even today are really the names of administrative posts under the Muslim rule.

Multan

In 1444, when Muḥammad Shah Sayyid was on the throne of Delhi, Shaikh Yusuf, a descendant of Sayyid Baha-ud-din Zakariya Quraishi, was elected king. He was ejected by the Langahs who ruled until 1527, when the Mughuls took it without a fight.

Sind

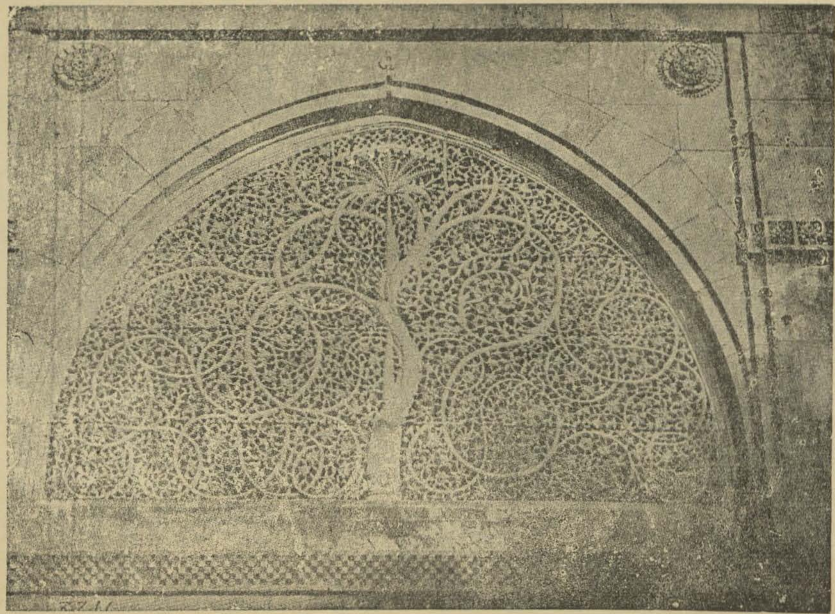
Sind, which was conquered by the Arabs in 711, seems to have passed under the control of the Rajputs of the Sumera clan during the early 'Abbasid period. The dynasty is supposed to have ruled Sind for a period of five hundred years. Sind became a province of Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish, but the Sumeras appeared to have retained their position by becoming tributaries of Delhi. In the middle of the fourteenth century the power seems to have passed into the hands of the Sama Rajputs who called themselves Jams and therefore seem to have come from Cutch. Firuz Shah captured Jam Banbina and Jam Jauna to Delhi. Jauna was released from captivity and allowed to return to Sind which he ruled as a vassal up to 1380. During the rule of Jam Niẓam-ud-din, known as Jam Nanda, Sind attained great material prosperity. Under his son, Jam Firuz, Sind was twice occupied by the king of Gujrat. Firuz sought the help of Shah Beg Arghun, who occupied the province in 1521.

Malwa

The independent kingdom of Malwa was established by Dilawar Khan Ghori in 1401. It remained independent up to 1531, when it was conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. In 1535, Humayun seized it from Bahadur Shah. Sher Shah Sur placed it in charge of Shuja'at Khan. Akbar captured it from Malik Bayazid (Baz Bahadur). Dilawar Khan Ghori established his capital at Dhar; Hoshang Shah removed it to Mandu. The Ghori dynasty was overthrown by Maḥmud Khalji, the *wazir* of Hoshang's son, Muḥammad Shah. Maḥmud Khalji was a powerful ruler, who fought several wars with Mewar which he reduced to vassal ge. He even attempted without success the conquest of Delhi and the Bahmani kingdom. The last ruler Maḥmud II who came to the throne in 1500 was a tool in the hands of a Rajput minister, Medini Rai. It was from Maḥmud that Bahadur Shah captured Malwa in 1531. Mandu constitutes one of the most wonderful ruins in the world. The deserted city breathes the very air of romance. Situated upon a hill over-looking the Narbada it is studded with most exquisite buildings, some of which are still almost intact. Hoshang's tomb, the *Jami Masjid*, the *Hindola Mahal*, the *Jahaz Mahal* and the palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati are excellent specimens of an architecture which combines beauty with strength.

Gujrat

Gujrat became independent in 1403, under its governor Zafar Khan of Rajput origin. He assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah I (1396-1411). His grandson, Aḥmad Shah (1411-1442) forced Khandesh to accept his vassalage. He built a new city, Ahmadabad, to which he transferred his capital. The next important ruler was Maḥmud Shah Begarha (1458-1511), who by conquests and annexations made Gujrat a powerful and prosperous kingdom. In 1507, he allied himself with the ruler of Egypt in expelling the Protuguese from the western coast. In 1508, the Portuguese fleet was



Perforated Stone Window in Sidi Sayyid's Mosque, Ahmadabad

defeated by the allies near Chaul. Two years later, the Portuguese inflicted a heavy defeat on the allies and occupied Goa, Bassein and Diu. Mahmud Shah Begarha had a prodigious appetite, his morning meal alone consisting of a cup of honey, a cup of butter and one hundred to one hundred and fifty bananas. He was valiant, chivalrous, mild and just. The last important ruler was Bahadur Shah (1526-37) who conquered Malwa and Gondwana and captured Chitor. He was defeated by Humayun near Mandsur and was forced to take refuge with the Portuguese who treacherously murdered him. Gujrat sank into anarchy and was annexed by Akbar in 1572.

Architecture

The Sultans of Gujrat built many beatiful buildings in Aḥmadabad and Cambay and other places. The city of Ahmadabad alone boasted of one thousand stone mosques. The distinguishing features of this architecture are exquisite surface carvings, adopting Hindu and Jain patterns, panels and windows of pierced stone and slender and tall minarets. The perforated stone window in Sidi Sayyid's mosque at Aḥmadabad has no equal in the world.

The Bahmani dynasty

The Bahmani dynasty of the Deccan was established in 1347, during Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, by Zafar Khan who claimed descent from Bahman, the legendary hero of the Persians. Gulburga was chosen by the founder as the seat of his government which was shifted to Bihar under Aḥmad Shah (1522-35). The Sultans of this dynasty waged continuous wars with the Hindu kingdoms of Warangal and Vijayanagar in the south. In 1424-25, Warangal was finally annexed. The internal history of this Sultanate was marked by strife between the *mulki* (Deccani) and the *ghair mulki* (foreigner) parties. Maḥmud Gawan, a Persian by birth, served with conspicuous ability 'Ala-ud-din Humayun Shah (1458-61) and his son Muḥammad Shah III (1463-82) as their *wazir*. Mahmud Gawan was equally competent as a general and as an administrator. A man of spotless

integrity, benevolent, just and chivalrous, Maḥmud Gowan was a patron of learning and had a saintly disposition. He built numerous buildings. His *madrasah* at Bidar is still partly extant. His opponents brought about his downfall by producing forged documents before the monarch who executed him. The Sultan discovered his mistake when it was too late. He left no worldly possessions behind him because he spent all his vast income on charity, himself sleeping on a mat and eating the humblest food. With Maḥmud Gawan departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani Sultanate which broke into five independent states under the Baridshahis of Bidar, Quṭbshahis of Golconda. Niẓamshahis of Aḥmadnagar, 'Adilshahis of Bijapur and Imadshahis of Berar. The rulers of these States waged frequent war with one another and with Vijayanagar in the south which they incorporated in their dominions after finally defeating the raja in the battle of Talikota (1565).

The rulers of the Deccan played a great part as builders and patrons of learning. In their courts Urdu first developed its literature and poetry. They constructed irrigaton canals and acqueducts, laid out gardens, designed magnificent places, cities, mosques, city walls and forts. Military architecture made great progress under their fostering care. Bidar, Golconda and Bijapur evolved distinct styles of buildings. In Bidar beautiful glazed tiles of Persian workmanship were extensively used. The tomb architecture of Golconda is distinguished by the use of narrow-necked domes. The Bijapur architecture is conspicuous by the grandeur of its construction and boldness of design. The huge *Jami' Masjid* of Bijapur constructed by Ali 'Adil Shah still stands intact. The richly decorated tomb of Muhammmad 'Adil Shah is a marvel of engineering, possessing the second largest dome in the world.

Khandesh

The small principality known as Khandesh in the Tapti valley was established in 1382 by Malik Raja, a rebel officer of the Bahmani kingdom. The

territory is known as Khandesh from the title of *Khan* attached to its founder who claimed descent from Hadrat 'Umar, the second caliph of Islam. Khandesh was annexed by Akbar in 1601.

Vijayanagar 1336-1646)

The State was founded by Harihara in 1336 during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. It was ruled by at least four dynasties. Its greatest ruler was Krishna Devaraya (1509-21). He was a great warrior and a patron of learning. As Vijayanagar had waged continuous war against its Muslim neighbours, they at last combined and defeated the raja at Talikota.

Vijayanagar was a big city fortified with seven concentric walls in the centre of which was situated the royal palace. It was a populous city with long lines of *bazars*. The king possessed a vast army but its efficiency in battle did not correspond to its numbers. For purposes of administration the kingdom was divided into 200 districts, each under a noble. Criminal laws were very severe, mutilation of limbs was prescribed for trivial offences. Many of its buildings, temples, forts and irrigation works have survived to testify to the degree of their excellence. Its temples are decorated with excellent sculpture.

Kashmir

The first dynasty of Muslim kings of Kashmir was founded by one Shah Mirza, a chief of Swat, who started his career as the prime minister of the Hindu raja. He seized the throne and assumed the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din. Sultan Zainul 'Abidin (1417-69) was the most famous of the Kashmir rulers. He abolished *Jizyah*; he encouraged literature, painting and music and caused many Arabic and Persian books to be translated into Kashmiri. Ḥaidar Mirza, a cousin of Babur, conquered the kingdom and ruled it from 1541 to 1552, nominally as the governor of Humayun. In 1560 the Chak dynasty seized power. It was from that dynasty that Akbar conquered it in 1586, and converted it into a health resort of the great Mughuls.

CHAPTER XXII

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

The Administration

The legal status of the Muslim empire in the sub-continent changed several times. In the beginning when the Arabs conquered Sind, it was a part of the Umayyad Caliphate and the governors were appointed directly by the centre. When the central authority weakened as the result of the rebellion in the East, the amirs or governors became virtually independent. With the establishment of the Ghaznavid rule over the Punjab, and later when the Sultanate of Delhi was founded, the sultans were virtually independent, but legally they owed allegiance to the 'Abbasids. The caliph, in response to a proper petition, issued letters patent in favour of certain monarchs. Iltutmish, Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Firuz Shah received such recognition. The oath of allegiance was a most solemn promise and declaration of loyalty. The idea of an indivisible world of Islam having been shattered by various disruptive elements, a school of thought grew up which believed that every independent monarch was caliph within his own domain. This view was accepted by Quṭb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, the Mughul rulers and possibly by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, who themselves claimed the status of the caliph within their empire.

The choice of a monarch

Before the firm establishment of the Mughul empire under Akbar, dynastic considerations were not held inviolable. The Muslim empire was so situated that weak monarchs could not be tolerated. The Mongols who conquered all the eastern lands of Islam up to Egypt constantly knocked at the gates of the Sultanate and sometimes reached the walls of Delhi itself. Besides, the local population was war-like and sometimes restless. Hence only strong men could maintain the prestige of the empire. Therefore, not once, but several times, strong men were elected as

Sultan. Iltutmish, Balban, Jalal-ud-din, Tughluq, Firuz Shah and Buhlul Lodi are the most outstanding examples. All these monarchs were elected either after weaker monarchs had been removed or the claims of more closely related candidates were ignored. The men chosen during the period of the Sultanate were strong leaders who could defend the State against its enemies and extend its power.

The method of election was worked out in detail by the jurists who laid down that the candidate should be chosen by the leaders in an assembly and should then be acclaimed by the people. This was followed scrupulously, and the assembly generally consisted of the leading nobles and theologians of the capital. They, after making their choice, tendered allegiance to the monarch; the theologians then went to the main mosques of the city and the people assembled there took the oath of allegiance. Of course, sometimes powerful partisans enacted the farce of an election; but the choice of the monarch during the days when the empire was strong seems to have been fortunate and therefore guided by public considerations.

The right to dethrone a sovereign is the logical corollary of an elective monarchy. Though some jurists hold that an election is so holy and binding that the electors could be released from their vows only by the sovereign himself, the majority of lawyers believe that the monarch could be deposed if he failed to carry out his trust. Injustice is considered to be a sufficient cause for dethornement. All writers agree that a man suffering from mental or physical infirmity cannot continue to be a sovereign. Great importance is attached to loss of power of judgment and eyesight. The fact that a number of Delhi sultans, mostly incompetent, were removed from the throne shows that the monarch was not considered too sacrosanct to be touched if he proved himself useless to the State. Of course there were intrigues and rebellions against some capable rulers as well, but they generally did not gain much support.

The jurists have carefully laid down the qualifications of an aspirant to monarchy. He should be capable of dealing with the problems of the State and in full possession of his physical and mental faculties. Some writers also add that he should belong to the male sex and be of adult age. These two qualifications were not always demanded at Delhi. It is true that Raḍiyah's election caused a controversy; she was not able to command the obedience of all the nobles, yet she was elected and ruled for four years with the cooperation of a large number of generals and statesmen. There were not many instances of young boys coming to the throne: the few who were raised were mere puppets in the hands of some successful intriguer, but generally the usual formalities of election were observed.

Shar', the real sovereign

The Muslim jurists and theologians believe in the supremacy of the *Shar'*, and hold that it is eternal and immutable in its essence. It is based on the *Quran* which is believed by every Muslim to be the *Word of God* revealed to His Prophet, Muḥammad. Not even the Prophet could change the revelation; he could only explain and interpret it. His interpretation, embodied in his traditions, called *Hadith*, naturally commands great respect and cannot be ignored by his followers. On these two rocks the *Quran* and the *Hadith* is built the structure of Muslim Law, annotated, expanded, interpreted and applied to the complicated and varied needs of a growing civilization by learned lawyers. This law was the sovereign in Muslim lands; no one was above it, and all were ruled by it. It is not only permitted but enjoined that a Muslim should disobey the ruler if the ruler's orders violated the Law. Public opinion in Muslim lands firmly held to the supremacy of the *Shar'*. Neither the Law nor its interpreters and jurists belonged exclusively to any one country: they belonged to the entire world of Islam and their influence was felt everywhere. There are no local variations of the Muslim Law.

Law is powerless unless it is enforced by some agency. It is, therefore, the duty of the Faithful to elect and appoint their ruler. It is this injunction of the *Shar'* which makes the State a canonical necessity. The ruler appointed and accepted by the Muslims was the caliph, who was the chief executive and supreme judge in the world of Islam. His legal representative at Delhi was the Sultan, to whom were delegated, in the area under his control, all the powers wielded by the Caliph. Legally the Caliph had the right to overrule the Sultan in decisions which had yet not taken effect, but in actual practice the Sultan of Delhi was so powerful and at such a distance that it could never have been practical politics for the Caliph to meddle with his affairs. Thus the supreme human agency in the Empire of Delhi for enforcing and interpreting the Law was the Sultan.

The Sultan

The jurists theoretically recognised the right of the ruler to act as the supreme interpreter of the Law, but in practice he could not go against the recognised interpretation, for it was not open to him to disregard *ijma'* or a preponderant concurrence of opinion on any point. Only where the jurists disagreed, was he free to take an independent line of action. In actual practice he generally abided by the decisions of a learned and pious jurist whom he trusted. He had the right of making all civil and political regulations for public welfare; but he could not contravene the *Shar'* in legislating on these occasions. The supremacy of the *Shar'* has misled some into thinking that the Empire was a theocracy. The essential feature of a theocracy, the rule of an ordained priesthood is, however, missing in the organisation of the Muslim state; the jurists are all laymen who claim no immunity from error and wield no special power

The monarch's powers of legislation

The sovereignty of the Law was by no means a legal fiction. The Sultans of Delhi on the whole, show a remarkable respect

for the *Shar'* in their public dealings. There are few glaring violations on record, while there are numerous instances of mighty Sultans humbling themselves before the majesty of the Law.

Limitation on Sultan's authority

The concentration of authority in the hands of one man has led unwary writers into painting Muslim rule as the perfect example of despotism. According to these authors, their power knew no limits; but in practice, absolute authority has existed only in the dream of the despot or the imagination of the fool. All political power has certain limitations and depends for its very existence on the cooperation of strong elements in the State. This elementary principle was as much at work in Hind-Pakistan as elsewhere, though the limitations might not be the same.

It has already been noticed that the Sultan had very little legislative power. He could not interfere with the personal and religious law of his subjects, for both the Muslims and the Hindus had their systems of law with which they would not brook any interference even at the cost of their lives. The Sultans realised their helplessness in this respect; some of them disliked certain Hindu customs but considered it impolitic to meddle with them. Nor could they flout the *Shar'* with impunity. They could rely on the support and loyalty of the faithful only so long as they ruled in accordance with the Law.

Nor should the mentality of the monarch themselves be ignored. Today people do not realise the hold of religion on the medieval mind. Most of these monarchs believed in the Law they were called upon to administer; some certainly approached their duties in a spirit of devotion and worship. The desire to earn the commendation of one's fellows, also, must have played its part. These psychological forces would

prove more potent in curbing irresponsibility than any visible and outside restriction.

Cooperation

The sovereignty of a single man is a legal myth. No man can impose his will upon a large population without considerable support, which assumes two forms. A small group of influential men give him active support by putting their energies, capabilities and even lives at his disposal. The greater portion of the populace give their passive support by obeying orders and paying taxes. The Indo-Pakistan emperors had to rely on the active support of the nobles, who, for one reason or another, were willing to make common cause with him. The monarch had also to ensure the cooperation of a fairly large number of *'ulama*, the learned theologians and lawyers, on account of their influence with the Muslim populace. Then there were the many public servants in various branches of the administration who put their experience and technical knowledge at the service of the State. Nor could the ruler forget the cultivators of the soil, the Hindu peasants, and their representatives—the village head man, the local chiefs and tribal heads. The ultimate force of the State consisted of the Muslim fighters who shed their blood for the glory of the Empire. No monarch has alienated any of these elements with impunity or succeeded in his projects without their support. The hostility of the people seldom proved fruitless. The limitations of royal power were recognised by contemporary writers. In discussing the reasons for Muḥammad bin Tughluq's difficulties and failures Barani twice says that his executions had created widespread disaffection. 'Ala-ud-din Khalji's measures succeeded because he had a very good technical staff at his disposal who efficiently cooperated with him. Muḥammad bin Tughluq's increased demands drove the peasantry of the Doab into rebellion and the result was almost complete loss of revenue. In fact there is no possibility of unbridled tryanny except with a timid people and the Indo-Pakistan populace of Middle Ages was by no means timid or forbearing; on the contrary,

the people were mostly warlike, refractory and rebellious. In addition, these were the days of dense forests and limited communications, the difference between an army and armed rabble was certainly very small.

At the court of Delhi the sovereign was surrounded by the wisest and the most experienced men in the realm; he had excellent opportunities for seeking advice and keeping in touch with public opinion; he had to bow before the will of strong elements or in face of widespread opposition; but there were no representative institutions. The ministers, therefore, were just the servants of the Crown and responsible only to it. It should not be thought, however, that a minister had no real authority, for his position and powers were well defined by law and sanctified by tradition.

Wazir

The chief minister was called the *wazir*. He was the head of the entire machinery of the government. The central finance office was his immediate concern; but he was also responsible for the other offices at headquarters. He appointed and superintended the civil servants, and organised the agency for the collection of the revenue; he also exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure. His assistants examined all the accounts submitted by the various departments of the government; it was in his office that the statements were compared, checked and passed. The *wazir* took measures—sometimes humiliating and unpleasant—to recover money illegally spent by local officials. All the requirements of the military department had to be referred finally to him; his office kept accounts, disbursed salaries and allotted assignments. His department paid the stipends to deserving scholars and men of learning and distributed doles to the poor and needy. No branch of public administration was outside his purview, and every subject from the mightiest governor to the lowest peasant in the land had dealings with him or his assistants.

The *Wazir's* department was called the *diwan-i-wizarat* and dealt mainly with finance. He was assisted by a *naib-wazir* who acted as his general assistant. Next to him was the *mushrif-i-mumalik* who was the accountant-general for the Empire. The *mustaufi-mumalik* was the auditor-general. Originally the *mushrif's* duty was to enter up the accounts received from the provinces and the various departments and the *mustaufi's* to audit them. Separate copies of the statements of accounts were sent to the *mushrif* as well as to the *mustaufi* and naturally resulted in duplication of work though there was the advantage that the accounts were checked by two independent authorities. In Firuz Shah's reign, however, the work was re-distributed. The *mushrif* dealt with income and the *mustaufi* with expenditure. The *mushrif-i-mumalik* and the *mustaufi-i-mumalik* were both officers of ministerial rank and had direct access to the monarch.

Other Ministers

There were three other main ministries which together with the *diwan-i-wizarat* were compared to four pillars supporting the vault of the State. The first in importance was the *diwan-i-risalat* which dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety. This office was presided over by the *sadr-us-sudur*. The *diwan-i-risalat* and the *diwan-i-qada* were mostly looked upon as the branches of a common department. The *diwan-i-'ard* was the office of the *'arid-i-mumalik* who was the controller-general of the military department. His department maintained the descriptive rolls of the horses and men, while he himself was the inspector-general of the forces. This officer or his provincial assistants enlisted recruits and fixed their pay.

The Judiciary

There were three categories of courts; *diwan-i-qada* which dealt with civil and criminal cases, the *diwan-i-mazalim*, which dealt with complaints against

the officials of the government and *diwan-i-siyasat*, which dealt with rebellions and high treason. The *diwan-i-qada* was presided over by the *qadi* and appeals lay to the monarch only when it was alleged that the judgment was perverse. The Sultan himself was the head of the other two *diwans*, but learned lawyers were always in attendance and were consulted. The executive side of justice was under a separate official called *amir-i-dad* under the Sultans and *mir-'adl* under the Mughuls.

The cases arising out of disputes between non-Muslim subjects were decided in the ordinary courts: only the decision was based on customary law. Cases between Muslims and non-Muslims were decided according to principles of equity.

The Spirit of Justice

More important than the organisation of law courts was the spirit which governed them. The Prophet is reported to have said that a moment spent in the dispensation of justice is better than seventy years of devotion. "Dominion can subsist inspite of mis-belief", says the *Siyasatnamah*, "but it cannot endure with the existence of injustice". The monarchs considered it their primary duty to maintain justice. The Sultanate provided a well-organised department of justice; by making all proceedings public and dividing responsibility and power among different officials, it established an effective system of checks and balances. The officials were generally chosen for their learning as well as piety, and there can be little doubt that most of them approached their work in a spirit of devotion. Some Sultans set a high example of justice. Balban inflicted the extreme penalty on a governor who was guilty of murder when he was drunk; Muhammad bin Tughluq appeared as a defendant in a *qadi's* court and after the case had been proved against him insisted on the penalty. Once a noble made a complaint before the *qadi* that the Sultan had executed his brother unjustly: the Sultan appeared unarmed before the *qadi*, having walked to the court, and suluted the

judge with great respect. The case went against the monarch who compensated the noble. The *qaḍi* had been instructed not to rise when the Sultan entered the court. On another occasion a man complained that the Sulṭan owed him money; the monarch appeared before the *qaḍi* and paid the debt. Firuz Shah did not hesitate to execute a favourite who was found guilty of murder; nor did he allow a high State official to escape capital punishment for murdering an obscure student who had given him grave provocation. The Sultan showed this severity in spite of his abhorrence of capital punishment.

Provincial Government

The governor was entrusted only with the supervision of the troops, the punishment of criminals and rebels, and home defence. He was not allowed to intervence in the administration of justice or the levy of taxes. The provincial heads of departments were appointed by the sovereign. Capital punishment could not be inflicted without the consent of the monarch.

Authority of the centre

The centre exercised great authority over the administration not only by demanding regular reports from the governor as well as from its own agents and spies, but also by duplicating the central ministries in the provinces and making each provincial department subservient to its central counterpart. The governor was thus the chief executive authority in the province as well as its military commander. Here also his authority was circumscribed by the presence of the department of the provincial *'arid*.

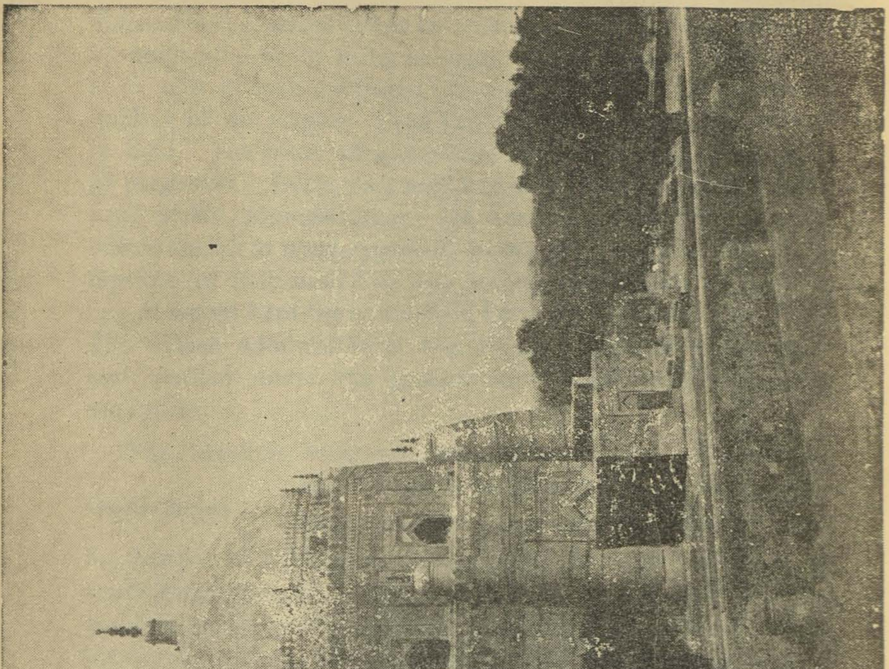
Finance

The main source of income of the State was the revenue derived from agricultural produce. During the greater part of the period the State demanded a fifth of the gross yield and it was under exceptional circumstances under 'Ala-ud-din Khalji that the proportion was raised to a half. It was again reduced to a fifth. The State

demand was assessed either be actual division of the produce or by appraising or by fixing averages over a number of years for every unit of area cultivated and then measuring the cultivated holding of the peasant. The demand could be paid in cash or in kind. The local administration was organised on the basis of *parganahs*. Every *parganah* had an *'amil* or *shiqqdar* as the head of the administration. He was assisted by an assessment officer known as *amin*, *munshrif*, or *mushif*, a treasurer known as *fotahdar* or *khazanchi* and two accountants known as *karkuns*, one of whom kept the accounts in Persian and the other in Hindi. The village administration was in the hands of a *panchayat* and worked under the general supervision of the *parganah* authorities.

Muslim Society

The Muslims were no new-comers to the sub-continent, because earlier in Sind and in the Punjab they had acquired considerable experience. There are reasons to believe that a part from the Arab traders in the south there were several Muslim traders carrying on commercial activities in some of the Hindu kingdoms of north India. With the establishment of the Sultanate there was naturally a great influx of Muslims wherever Muslim rule was established. As a part of their policy of consolidation the Sultans established Muslim colonies in the heart of difficult country. These colonies were exposed to great danger and therefore a great sense of unity prevailed among their inhabitants. If a colony was faced with overwhelming difficulties the speediest help came from the neighbouring colonies; thus from the outset common achievement or common danger created a strong sense of unity among the Muslims. This was true also of the larger cities for with the beginning of the Mongol invasions Muslim society was obliged to be strong and united. These were merely local factors; Islam creates a wonderful sense of brotherhood among all Muslims and Hind-Pakistan was no exception. Here, the circumstances were even more favourable for the creation of



this sense of unity. With the rise of the Mongol power the Muslims had begun to feel that the Sultanate was the last stronghold of Islam in the East and, therefore, their devotion to its interests was much greater than in other countries.

With the conquest of eastern world of Islam by the Mongols a large number of refugees took shelter in the Sultanate, thus increasing the number of Muslims in some of the bigger cities, particularly in Delhi. The first great wave came in the days of Balban, but this migration continued throughout the history of Muslim rule and a large number of Muslims of this sub-continent trace their origin to countries outside it. The migration of these Muslims strengthened Islamic culture in the sub-continent. Barani gives a long list of poets, men of learning, architects, skilled artisans and persons possessing other accomplishments which shows how rich the cultural life of Delhi had become within such a short time. The integration of these Muslims into a single entity did not take long; they were soon absorbed into the Muslim society of the sub-continent. With the strengthening of the Muslim missionary movement, Islam began to gain converts, welding all Muslims into a nation and leaving little distinction between the foreigner and the local convert. Many families were often of a mixed lineage. Even some of the Sultans were not racially of a single stock and sometimes local blood also ran in their veins. No distinction was made in appointments to the services, and we find, for instance, Muslim converts acting as ministers, generals and governors. The great poet Amir Khusrau speaks with great respect and affection of his maternal grandfather as the "*black* '*arid*"; this shows that though his father was a Turk his mother was of Indian origin.

Muslim society has never been divided into distinct hereditary nobles and commoners. Appointments and promotions were by merit and many a humble person rose to the highest positions in the State by the dint of his merit. This prevented

the division of Muslim society into water-tight compartments. There were, of course, economic distinctions as can be found anywhere, but wealth and power did not isolate the individual or the family from the rest of his people. Amongst the Muslims one could find people of many professions. There were government servants, high and low, teachers, preachers, artisans and traders. Indeed we find some sections of the population in affluent circumstances, for instance, the highly paid government officials and the great traders. A large number belonged to the middle classes and some belonged to the humbler strata of society.

The *'ulama* were venerated and exercised a healthy influence upon the people, but of greater importance were the great *sufi* saints, the *mashaikh*, who were great missionaries of Islam and created a moral awakening not only amongst the Muslims but also amongst the Hindus. It was mainly their contact with the local population which brought about a great spiritual revival in Hindu society under the *bhakti* movement.

Hindu Socitey

In striking contrast to the universal and fraternal brotherhood of Islam stood the divided and fragmented Hindu society broken into several water-tight compartments. The casts system had become even more rigid and torn as under the entire fabric of Hindu society. The Brahmanical tyranny over the *Shudras* and the untouchables had grown to intolerable dimensions and the latter were groaning under the system. Under such conditions the light of Islam appeared on the Indo-Pakistan horizon. The spirit of equality, tolerance and social justice of Islam began to attract large numbers of these disillusioned and frustrated Hindu masses.

Treatment of Hindus

From all records and evidence it is clear that the Hindus were not only treated justly and fairly but even generously. The mutual hatred and antipathy which was inevitable as a result of

war and conquest, gradually changed to appreciation and understanding of each other. The Hindus were accorded the status of *dhimmis*—an allied people—which entitled them to consideration and protection. They enjoyed complete religious freedom, practised their ceremonies openly, worshipped their idols publicly and took them out in grand processions. The Hindus had the liberty to preach their doctrines, which may be borne out by the development of the *bhakti* cult. Politically Hindu chiefs and rulers were allowed to retain their power if they acknowledged Muslim suzerainty, and many of them secured high appointments such as governorships or commands in the army. Religion was no bar to State services and the Hindus who had shown special aptitude in revenue administration were preponderant there. Similarly local administration was left almost entirely in their hands. Economically the Hindu peasantry was contented and prosperous which was the result of a just and regulated system of revenue administration. The burden of taxes on them was light, much lighter than under Hindu rulers. They had a large share in the trade. Money-lending and banking were entirely in their hands. In social and cultural spheres, too, the same spirit of toleration and broad-mindedness remained the keynote of Muslim attitude towards the Hindus. Their art and architecture, language and literature, music and painting and tradition and philosophy were allowed to exist and develop unhampered side by side with those of the Muslims.

Impact of Islam on Hinduism

The advent of Islam in Hind-Pakistan proved to be of great importance. It ended the isolation of the country from the rest of the world and ushered in an era of commercial and cultural contacts with other countries. It brought about a unification of the sub-continent to an extent that had never been achieved in the pre-Muslim period. It gave to it peace and tranquillity, law and order and an efficient administration—civil, judicial and

fiscal,—hitherto unknown. It brought about an unprecedented degree of agricultural prosperity, industrial development and commercial advancement which converted the sub-continent into the *El-Dorado* of the East. But the greatest transformation was wrought in the fields of culture and religion. The universality and dynamism of Muslim culture made a deep impression on a decadent and superficial society. Hinduism took fresh life from Muslim culture and civilisation. The free mingling of the Muslims with the Hindus, and the spirit of harmony and co-operation resulted in a gradual absorption and assimilation of the Muslim culture by the Hindus. The first step in this direction was the study of Arabic and Persian, by the Hindus, making it possible for them to benefit from the Muslim arts and sciences, already possessed of a world-wide reputation. By the twelfth century there grew up the Indo-Islamic styles of art and architecture and music and painting. But in the religious sphere the impact of Islam on Hinduism was of far greater import. The purity of Muslim doctrines, which centred round the Unity of God and the sublimity of soul preached by Muslim saints and mystics overcame all barriers of religion and fired the imagination of many Hindu reformers. The rise of neo-Hinduism was due to the impact of Islam, which later blossomed into the great *bhakti* movement.

Bhakti movement

It has been already pointed out that the influence of the Muslim *sufi* saints produced a profound effect upon the Hindu mind. The Muslim rulers were the great patrons of the vernacular languages of the country. It was under their patronage that the Hindu classics were translated into some of the indigenous vernaculars. With the impact of Islam it was necessary that the people should be kindled with the same feelings as ennobled the lives of their new countrymen, the Muslims. We find, therefore, a great spiritual revival which is called the *bhakti* movement.

Economic conditions

The Sultans of Delhi showed an early realisation on their dependence on the peasantry and therefore initiated well-calculated schemes of agrarian reforms. Balban used to say. "The peasant is the backbone of the State; ruinous exactions on him would cause a falling off in agriculture and the consequent impoverishment of the State". This statement is an index to the policy of the Delhi Sultanate towards the agricultural population. Special care and attention were devoted to their welfare so that "a peasant in the country side lived in contented isolation, leading a communal life in his self-sufficient village, selling his surplus grain in the market town and paying the revenue through the headman". As agriculture flourished, the prices dropped; the people were contented and the economy of the State became stable.

Many industries, big and small flourished both in urban and rural areas. A large number of *karkhanahs* or State factories to cater for the needs of the Sultan and the notables existed around Delhi where as many as 4,000 weavers of silk were employed besides other craftsmen. The artisans, builders, stone-cutters, sculptors and engravers were in great demand in view of the intense building activity. Private industries such as textile, calico-painting and dyeing, pottery and chinaware, metal-work and smithery of all kinds paper, leather and sugar industry, perfumery, distilling and arms manufacture were in flourishing state. Thus the Sultanate was not only self-sufficient in most of the manufactured goods, but also exported large number of items to neighbouring countries.

The thriving state of agriculture and industry gave an impetus to the internal and external trade and commerce of the Empire. The government had a good source of income from taxes on trades and shop-keepers and transit duties on merchandise. Besides the overland trade relations with Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, China, Tibet and Bhutan, a fair amount of sea-borne

trade was maintained with European countries, China, East Indies and Pacific Isles etc. Some countries around the Persian Gulf imported their entire food requirements from Hind-Pakistan. Ports of Gujrat and Bengal had become large centres of trade. According to the *Masalik-ul-Absar* "merchants of all countries never cease to carry pure gold into India and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and genus". Other items of export were agricultural goods, textile manufactures (especially textiles of Bengal and Gujrat), opium, indigo-cakes, etc., while the chief items of import were the rare goods, horses and mules from Arabia and Khita; and Persian carpets. So great was the extent of textile manufacture that Hind-Pakistan was not only self-sufficient but also clothed the people of the countries bordering the Indian Ocean. It may be interesting to note that the volume of export trade was far greater than the import trade.

The main reason for this prosperity were good government, a small population (not exceeding one hundred millions in the entire sub-continent), a large number of industries and a comparatively small number of cultivators, resulting in large holdings and lack of pressure on the land.

CHAPTER XXIII

ART AND LITERATURE

Architecture has always been regarded as the best index of human progress and civilization. A systematic and careful study of the monuments and other relics of the past will never fail to indicate the main trends of the national character and the cultural outlook of the age to which they belong. In order to be able to appreciate the achievements of the Sultanate period in the domain of architecture it will be necessary to cast a cursory glance over the progress that the Muslims had made by the time that their rule was established in this sub-continent.

Architecture

The most important feature of the evolution of Muslim architecture in its early stages is the part played by the teachings and practices of their Faith. For its origin it is necessary to examine the significance of the mosque and the buildings attached to it, such as *madrasahs*. Under the influence of the local traditions of the various countries changes were often introduced in detail, but the main features of the mosque have always and everywhere been the same. The Holy Prophet's mosque *Masjid-i-Nabawi*) at Medina which has ever since its construction in 622 A.C. served as a model for the mosques all the world over was a square enclosure surrounded by walls of brick and stone. Another factor which has greatly influenced the development of architectural and decorative styles of the Muslims is the abhorrence of image-worship. Carried to an extreme this doctrine would not permit the cultivation of sculpture and portrait painting even for the sake of art. The Muslims developed a grandeur of structure and richness of floral and geometrical designs in decoration. These have given to Muslim architecture a unique character and contributed to its superiority over other styles in many respects. The Hindus had developed their own architecture which depended for effect upon lavish sculpture and massive proportion. The Hindus did not use the arch;

therefore the excessive use of beams and pillars spoiled the beauty of the interior and could never attain the dignity and vigour which were imparted to Muslim monuments by the dome and the arch.

In Hind-Pakistan the contact of Islam with the Hindus resulted in the evolution of a style which has sometimes been called the Indo-Muslim school of architecture. As was but natural the Muslims had to employ local artisans who consciously or unconsciously have left clear signs of their own traditions in the buildings of the early period of the Sultanate. The so-called Indo-Muslim architecture was, therefore, nothing but Muslim architecture possessing in detail certain features of the Hindu art of building. In the course of time, however, Muslim craftsmen and artisans began to enter the sub-continent in larger numbers and one can notice their influence in the gradual decrease of Hindu characteristics from the buildings of later periods.

Early period

The earliest of the well known Muslim monuments in the newly conquered territories of north Hind-Pakistan is the *Qubbatul Islam Mosque* built by Qutb-ud-din Aibak to commemorate the conquest of Delhi. The most outstanding feature of this mosque is the screen of eleven pointed trabeate arches ornamented with Quranic inscriptions in *naskh* style and floral designs. The plan of the building is typical of a mosque: an open courtyard surrounded by colonades with the main prayer-chamber on the west. Subsequently this mosque was enlarged by Sultan Iltutmish. The floral and inscriptional decoration of the front screen are basically Islamic in character and design and, in the extension by Iltutmish, lose all relation with the Hindu style of decoration. Not far from the mosque stands the lofty tower, the *Qutb Minar*, which was started by Aibak and completed by his son-in-law, Sultan Iltutmish, who named it after the well known saint—Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki. There can be no doubt that



Qubbat-ul-Islam Mosque; Carvings on Screen Extension added by Iltutmish

the monument was meant to stand as a memorial of the great victories of the Muslims. Originally it is stated to have consisted of four storeys only, but in the course of executing repairs to it Sultan Firuz replaced the uppermost storey by two smaller ones and encased them with marbles. It is ornamented with bands of inscriptions interwoven with foliate designs. Another mosque built in the early days of the Sultanate period was the *Arhai din ka Jhonpra* at Ajmer. It closely resembles the *Qubbatul Islam Mosque;* here the screen has been integrated into the building but it loses magnificence and grandeur. Of the buildings of the early period one more need be mentioned. The tomb of Iltutmish consists of a square chamber having an arched entrance, one each on the north, south and east; on the west stands a *mehrab* recess flanked by two smaller ones. Its interior is profusely embellished with Quranic inscriptions in *naskh* and *Kufic* characters as well as arabesque and geometrical patterns. Today the tomb is open to sky, but originally it had a roof.

The Khalijis and the house of Tughluq

The traditions and characteristics of Muslim architecture become more pronounced in the buildings of the Khaljis and the house of Tughluq. The *'Alai Darwazah* or southern gateway to 'Ala-ud-din's extention of the *Qubbatul Islam Mosque* is built of red stone, relieved by marble, and has beautiful achways on all the four sides. The entire wall surface is profusely ornamented with inscriptions, arabesque and geometrical designs. Another building of this period is the *Jama'at Khanah* at the *Dargah* of Ḥaḍrat Niẓam-ud-din Aulia.

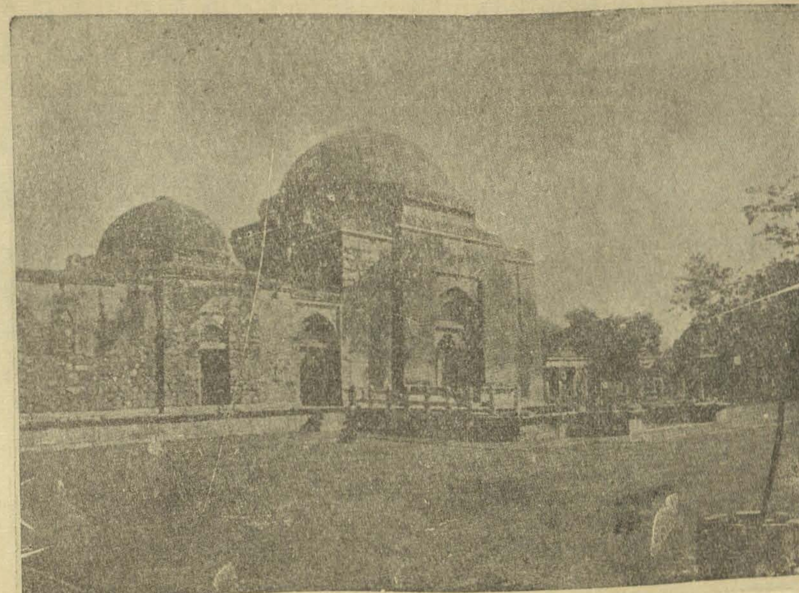
Coming to the house of Tughluq we find that their buildings are characterized by excellent proportions and simplicity. Excepting the tomb of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din Tughluq which is built of red stone the buildings of this period are of rubble stone in lime. Ghiyath-ud-din's fort which is now in ruins produces an impression of vigour and strength. The palace of Sultan

Muhammad bin Tughluq standing in the centre of his newly built capital—*Jahanpanah*—is a building of unique character; at a level slightly lower than that of the main palace stood the famous *Qasr-i-Hazar-Sutun* (palace of a thousand pillars) or the durbar hall of the Sultan. Equally remarkable is the *Begumpuri mosque* standing nearby. Its main feature is the multi-domed roof, each dome covering a separate arched compartment. The name of Sultan Firuz Shah who was the greatest builder among the rulers of Delhi before Shah Jahan will always be remembered for the beautiful University that he built on the side of the huge tank, known as the *Hauḍ-i-Khas* or *Hauḍ-i-'Alai*. It consisted of double-storeyed buildings on the lake front and single-storeyed ones behind them at the level of the higher ground.

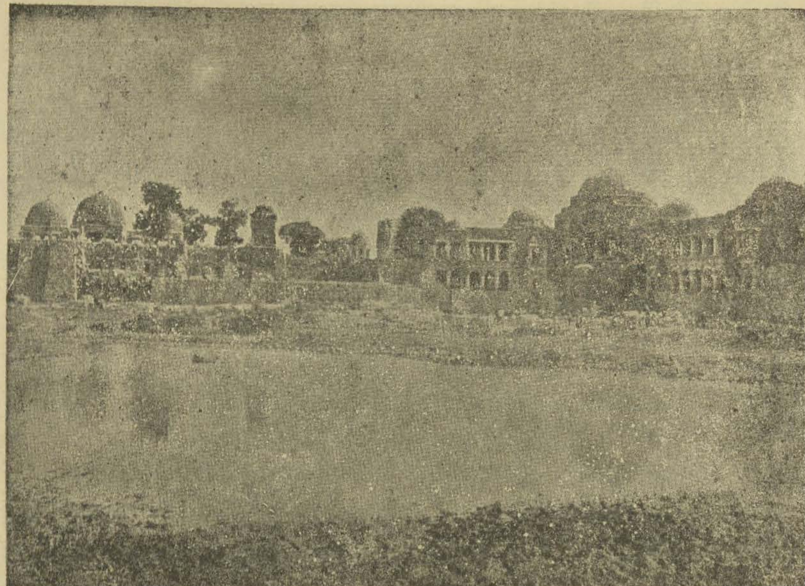
With the decline of the authority of the central government under the successors of Firuz Shah and the Sayyids and the Lodis the resources of the Sultanate became too meagre for any vast schemes of construction or improvement in the architectural styles. In spite of this an exquisite school of architecture grew up which produced some excellent buildings. It culminated in the famous buildings of Sher Shah, whose tomb at Sahasram and mosque at Delhi are masterpieces.

Local schools of architecture

The local styles which flourished in the minor Sultanates that rose to power on the decline of the Empire of Delhi were characterized like the Delhi style by Islamic features such as the dome and the arches. The splendid tombs and mosques of the Deccan Sultans and the buildings of Jaunpur and Malwa bear silent testimony to the glory of their architectural achievement. The mosques built by the rulers of the Sharqi dynasty at Jaunpur are massive and imposing. The deserted city of Mandu in Malwa, situated on a green hill with its city gates, walls, palaces, pavilions, the great *Jami' Masjid* and royal tombs, breathes the very air of romance. The great Mughul Emperor, Shah Jahan,



Tomb of Firuz Shah Tughluq



College and Tomb of Firuz Shah Tughluq at the Hauz i-'Ala

is stated to have sent his architects to Mandu to study its architecture. Bidar and Gulbarga in the Deccan developed pleasant styles; the military architecture of the Deccan was ahead of such architecture in the north. Ahmadabad deeply influenced by local traditions, produced under the Sultan of Gujrat some exquisite buildings of stone with beautiful surface decorations in carving and also excellent pierced stone *jalis*. *Sidi Saiyid's mosque* possesses perhaps the most exquisite *jalis* in the world. But of greater interest to us in Pakistan are the five well-known tombs of Multan. The earliest is that of Shah Yusuf Gardezi which is said to have been built in 1152 A.C. Next chronologically comes the imposing tomb of the famous saint, Shaikh Baha-ul-Haqq, who died in 1262 A.C. The most important of its features is that it has one of the earliest of true domes in Hind-Pakistan. But the most noteworthy of these edifices is the tomb of Shaikh Rukn-i-'Alam which is stated to have been built by Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din Tughluq and has been truly described as "one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead." It is a lofty edifice with sloping walls, the latter having found their way to Delhi under the patronage of the house of Tughluq.

In East Pakistan also we have a number of famous buildings which testify to the advanced stage that had been attained by the Muslims even before the establishment of the Mughul rule. The *Sath Gumbad Mosque* of Khan Jahan 'Ali at Bagerhat is covered, as its name shows, by sixty (actually seventy-seven) domes. Its battered or sloping walls are typical of the fourteenth century Delhi style. But the most celebrated mosque in this part of Pakistan is the *Chhota Sona Masjid* of Gaur, built by Muhammad in the reign of Husain Shah (1439-1518). It is called the *Chhota Masjid* to be distinguished from the *Bara Sona Masjid* built a few years later, five miles away at Ram Kali in West Bengal. Originally it had a gilded dome. The

main interest of the *Chhota Sona Masjid* however lies in its rich foliage which makes of it a very impressive building.

Calligraphy and Painting

The Muslims greatly developed decorative arts such as calligraphy and arabesque which in reality is its offshoot. They improved and invented foliate designs and geometrical patterns, which enhanced the beauty of their buildings and illumination of their books. The Arabic script lends itself so well to calligraphy that it became a great art in Muslim lands. In Christian countries as well, the beauty of the Arabic script captured the imagination of the artists and found its way into various forms of surface decoration.

Under the influence of Byzantium and Iran, the art of painting came to be practised by the Muslims and there is evidence that moral paintings were widely in use for decorative purposes in royal palaces. A copy of a portrait of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq has survived which shows that the art was vigorous and strong, though it was not so highly developed or sophisticated as the Mughul school of painting.

Music

Music was widely cultivated and Barani gives us some insight into its popularity. The Muslims made great contributions to the native music. The name of Amir Khusrau dcserves to be specifically mentioned in this connection, for he is credited with having invested not only *qawwali*, but also many airs of which *pilu*, *gharah*, *Sazgari* and *zilat* are well known. He also greatly improved some of the most popular instruments such as *sitar*. Sultan 'Adil Shah Sur was a great musician whose Muslim pupil Tan Sen is famous as the greatest Indian musician ever born.

Literature : Arabic and Persian

The political and military activities of the Muslims did not hamper their progress in the field of learning. They had brought to the sub-continent excellent literary traditions and from the very beginning

we find scholars saints and poets coming in the wake of statesmen and conquerors and settling here permanently. In the early days of Islam the soldier was always followed and often preceded by the missionary who carried with him the message of the *faith* along with the torch of learning. The far-reaching effects of their influence on the intellectual life of the conquered peoples can be seen in the revolutionary changes which their languages and literatures have undergone. In Sind, for instance, one can easily notice the effects of the influence of Islam in its language as well as in the fact that the overwhelming majority of its people are Muslims. With the establishment of the Muslim rule in the Punjab the light of Islamic culture began to move eastward. Among the scholars who prospered under the patronage of the Sultans of Ghazna was the famous al-Biruni who stayed here for several years to study the language and philosophy of the Hindus and has left an extremely valuable, authentic and objective account of their learning, culture and religion in his famous *Kitabul Hind.* In the thirteenth century the Islamic world was attacted by the Mongols and some of the best centres of Muslim culture were reduced to ashes. This havoc caused indescribable misery in central and western Asia, and numerous scholars, saints and artisans were compelled to leave their ancestral homes to escape dishonour and death at the hands of the barbarous invader. Of the many distinguished scholars who came to Delhi was the author of the *Tabaqa-i-Nasiri*, Qadi Minhaj-ud-din Siraj, who is described as a pious and learned man. An important historian is Ḍia-ud-din Barani, whose *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is in a way a continuation of the *Tabaqat*. Barani's book is our main source of information for the period beginning with Balban's reign to the beginning of Firuz Shah's rule. His friend, Ḥaḍrat Amir Khusrau, is the most illustrious figure in the literary history of the period. This sub-continent has not produced, during these six hundred years, any person possessing such perfection in the art of

poetry. What makes him more important in the eyes of the students of history is the fact that he has left a number of historical works, both in prose and poetry. Some of his *mathnawis*—such as the *Qiranus Sa'dain*, the *Miftahul Futuh* and the *Tughluq Namah*—provide us with valuable information about the history and social conditions of the times. Amir Khusrau's intimate friend, Ḥasan Sijzi was, like him, a disciple of Ḥadrat Niẓam-ud-din Aulia. His fame rests mainly on his excellent *ghazals*, but his prose work, *Fawaidul Fuwad*—which like Amir Khusrau's *Afdalul Fawaid* is a collection of the sayings of the Shaikh—can be studied with profit for the social and cultural history of those days. Shams Siraj 'Afif and Yahya bin Aḥmad, may also be mentioned as the historians of a slightly later period.

Hindi

The vernacular languages of this sub-continent seem to have made considerable progress during the Sultanate period. It would be interesting to make a brief reference to some of the important works written in Hindi which had become the language of the indigenous population of some parts of north Hind-Pakistan. The most prominent figure among the early Hindi poets is that of Chandbardai, the author of *Prithviraj Raisa*. It is a long poem consisting of several thousand verses, and there can be no doubt that considerable portions were added to the original by later writers. We find in it history and legend mixed up in such a way that it is difficult to distinguish facts from fiction. Another well known work is the *Alha Khand* or the story of Alha and Udal. It presents a fairly good picture of Rajput life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Ḥadrat Amir Khusrau, the most distinguished literary figure of the age, has stated in his third *diwan Ghurratul Kamal*, that he "scattered among his friends a few chapters of Hindi poetry also, but that he would be content with a mere mention of the fact". Hindi and Bengali, like other provincial languages of the sub-continent, own their progress

in the ealier stages of their development to the patronage of the Muslims. They freed the Hindu mind from the shackles of Sanskrit classicism, and then it produced a rich harvest indeed. The Sultans of Bengal were great patrons of Bengali literature and the earliest translations into that language of some of the Hindu religious books were made under their patronage.

Urdu

For the origin of our national language, the finest achievement of our civilization, we shall have to go back to the early history of Islam in the sub-continent. With the conquest of Sind and Multan by the young Arab general, Muhammad bin Qasim, the language and faith of the Muslims entered these territories and as was quite natural began to influence the various aspects of the social life of the people. The next wave of Muslim conquerors came three centuries later when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna launched his brilliant campaigns against the Hindu-Shahi kingdom of the north-west. The result of his conquests was the annexation of the region which later came to be known as "the land of the Five Rivers" (Punjab). Lahore was given the name of Mahmudpur and became not only the capital of the newly conquered regions but soon attained the status of the chief centre of Islamic culture in this sub-continent. Thousands of Muslims who came here with the Ghazanvid armies as well as for purposes of trade and missionary work decided to make it their permanent home. Most of these new-comers spoke Persian and it was obvious that Their daily contact with theindigenous people of the land produced far-reaching effects in the shape of the evolution of a new *lingua franca*. The nature of this evolutionary process was such that the new language kept on travelling in the wake of Muslim soldiers, missionaries and traders until it reached almost every corner of the sub-continent. The Muslim poets and writers had very early begun to use local terms and phrases

in their literary compositions. Even before the campaigns of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Muḥammad bin Sam we hear of poets writing in Urdu which at that time was generally referred to as "Hindwi". Of Khwajah Mas'ud Salman it has been stated on reliable authroity that he had a *diwan* in that language in addition to his Arabic and Persian *diwans*. Later we find a number of writers, particularly *ṣufi* saints, utilizing the new-born language for closer contacts with the masses.

Sikandar Lodi's reign has unique importance in the literary history of north Hind-Pakistan. He had a strong predilection for Persian and considered its knowledge an essential qualification for responsible posts. This policy naturally encouraged the Hindus to study Persian and consequently a large number of its words and expressions found their way into the different vernaculars. It is interesting to note however that the work of literary composition in Urdu began in the south much earlier than in the north. Victorious forces of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din and Muḥammad bin Tughluq on the one hand and the *ṣufi* missionaries of Islam on the other introduced Urdu in the south. Under the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan it received considerable encouragement. Even in the north where Persian was the court language Urdu seems to have gained a sufficiently wide popularity among the masses by the time that Babur laid the foundation of the Mughul Empire.

PART IV

Muslim Rule (Section 2)

CHAPTER XXIV

FOUNDATION OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur :

Babur was a decendant of Timur, a Turk, on his father's side, and of Chingiz Khan, a Mongol, on his mother's. He was therefore a Turk and the term Mughul (Persian and Indian term for Mongol) is a misnomer for him and his successors. In his *Tuzuk* he calls himself a Turk and refers to the Mughuls with marked contempt.

With the fall of the Sultanate of Delhi numerous provincial dynasties had arisen. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's tactlessness had disunited the Afghans themselves.

Babur's *Tuzuk* which also dwells on the flora and fauna, physical features, social and economic life, etc. of the sub-continent says that "Hindustan is a large country, with an abundance of gold and silver" but "very few pleasures". He formed a poor opinion of its people—their morals and manners, their mode of living and means of livelihood, their pleasures and pastimes, etc. It should be noted, however, that his stay in the sub-continent was too short to enable him to acquaint himself fully with the life and work of its people.

Farghana (now Khokand in Russian Turkistan) with its capital at Andijan, was a fertile tract of land. Not content with his small kingdom, Babur's father 'Umar Shaikh Mirza, quarrelled with his cousin Ahmad Mirza who held Samarqand and Bukhara. The qurrel had taken a serious turn when 'Umar Shaikh died of an accident (8th June, 1494).

Early life

Zahir-ud-din Muhammad, surnamed Babur (lion), was born on the 14th of February, 1483. He seems to have received an excellent education during his boyhood for thereafter he had little time to devote to his

studies. On the death of his father he ascended the throne of Farghana at the age of eleven. His accession synchronized with the invasion of his kingdom by his uncles, Ahmad and Mahmud. But for the loyalty of his subjects, which he has gratefully acknowledged in his *Memoirs*, his fate would have been sealed.

Samarquand, the cradle of culture, had a lure which Babur could not resist. His first attempt to take it ended in failure. He, however, took it in 1497, but only for a hundred days. A rebellion at Farghana deprived him of both the kingdoms; when he set out to quell the rebellion at Farghana, Samarqand was also lost. He was without a kingdom in 1498.

The next two years saw Babur, a wanderer, 'buffeted about like a pebble on the sea-shore'. He captured Samarqand again in 1500-1, but was driven out by Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek, within eight months. From 1502 to 1504 he was a fugitive with an ill-equipped following of 200-300 men. In 1504 he occupied Kabul, assumed the title of *Badshah* which marked an important change in his political outlook, and conquered Qandhar, but lost it within a week.

Herat

In 1507 he paid a visit to his cousins in Herat, which was, at that time, a great seat of learning and culture. In 1511-12 he entered into an alliance with the Shah of Persia and conquered Samarqand, Bukhara and Khurasan with his help. He was now the master of a kingdom, extending from Tashkent to Kabul and Ghazna. His advocacy of the Shi'ah faith under his treaty with the Shah of Persia offended his subjects, and the situation was fully exploited by the Uzbek, with the result that he lost his dominions one after the other and eventually decided to seek his fortune in the east rather than in the west.

Invasion of Hind-Pakistan

Ever since he took Kabul, Babur never ceased to think of the conquest of this sub-continent because he considered it a Timurid heritage. He had to undertake five expeditions to achieve this

object. The earlier invasions were mostly preparatory. In 1520 he passed through Bajaur and occupied Sialkot; he was called upon to fight Shah Beg Arghun, the ruler of Qandhar. Driving the enemy out of Qandhar and setting his home in order, he undertook his fourth expedition in 1524 at the invitation of Daulat Khan. Without encountering opposition he occupied Lahore and Dipalpur. Leaving a detachment at Lahore he returned to Kabul. 'Ala-ud-din, an uncle of Sultan Ibrahim and a pretender to the throne, was in league with Babur. He was put in charge of Dipalpur, but soon after Babur's withdrawal Daulat Khan seized Dipalpur from 'Ala-ud-din. The Lahore detachment defeated Daulat Khan whom Ibrahim had failed to subdue. When in November, 1526, Babur undertook his last expedition at the invitation of 'Ala-ud-din, who was later won over by Daulat Khan, he found heavy odds arrayed against him; Daulat Khan had come out with 40,000 and Ibrahim with 100,000 troops including many war elephants. Daulat Khan's forces melted away at the approach of the invader.

Battle of Panipat

Ibrahim marched with his main forces from Delhi along the right bank of the Jumna. A subsidiary force moved from Ḥiṣar under Ḥamid Khan. This force came into contact with Babur's right wing which was commanded by Humayun, his son, who was then eighteen years old. Humayun completely defeated Hamid Khan. Babur arrived at Panipat where he occupied a strong position protecting his right with the town, and his left by a ditch and branches of trees. The centre was protected by rows of carts, seven hundred in number, tied together with twisted bull-hides. He kept gaps at convenient distances for the army to sally forth to attack the enemy. Babur had a few pieces of cannon and some musketeers as well, whom he stationed behind the wagons. For eight days Ibrahim hesitated to attack this strong position. Babur then sent a small force to make a night attack which

roused Ibrahim. Ibrahim had one lakh men and one thousand elephants. Approaching Babur's strong position Ibrahim had to shorten his line by slanting it, which resulted in confusion. At this time Babur sent his *tulghama* or flanking parties of light cavalry armed with bows and arrows which took the Afghans on the flanks and in the rear, thus increasing the pressure on the Afghan front. The Afghan army thus became a dense mass of men without room to move or manoeuvre. The Mughuls fell upon them and the battle turned into a slaughter. The Afghans were killed in large numbers and the road up to Delhi was strewn with the dead as Babur pursued them. Humayun was sent to occupy Agra where his courteous treatment of the family of the raja of Gwalior who had fallen into his hands earned him not only their gratitude but also presents including the famous *koh-i-nur*.

Battle of Kanwaha (1527)

Rana Sangha of Chitor, the hero of a hundred fights, who had lost an arm, a leg and an eye in actions and had received as many as eighty wounds on his body, thought that the Empire of Delhi had fallen into confusion and he could make a bid for establishing his rule in northern India. He, therefore, advanced at the head of a big Rajput confederate army. Babur marched out and encamped at Sikri. His first attack was repulsed by the Rajputs. This created consternation among his soldiers. At this critical moment he renounced the use of wine and broke his wine vessels. He delivered a stirring speech to revive the morale of his soldiers. He arranged his army in a way similar to his alignment at Panipat. Rana Sangha, however, was more experienced and he replied by an endeavour to roll up the Mughul line with his superior numbers. Babur's resources were greatly taxed but his soliders stood firm and won the day; Rana Sangha had a narrow escape. The battle was decisive, the great Rajput confederacy was shattered and the Mughul Empire firmly established. The defeat of Medini Rai and the capture of Chanderi completed the collapse of the Rajputs.

Struggle with the Afghans

The Afghans, still strong in Behar and Bengal, had resumed the offensive when Babur was engaged against Chanderi. At his approach, they crossed the Ganges and concentrated on its bank to check his advance. He put them to flight and returned to Agra. Trouble soon started in Behar. Maḥmud, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, took possession of Behar and advanced on Chunar at the head of 100,000 Afghans including Sher Khan Sur, but at the approach of Babur, the enemy retreated to Bengal and created trouble there. In the battle of Buxar (6th May, 1529), they were defeated and put to flight. A treaty was concluded and both the parties agreed to respect the sovereignty of the other and not to support or shelter each other's enemies.

Babur's death

Humayun fell ill and his condition became serious. Babur took a vow and offered his life if God would grant the prince recovery from his illness. Humayun recovered and Babur fell ill. His wonderful constitution had been undermined by the strain of ceaseless warfare. He died on the 30th December, 1530, at Agra.

Character and achievements

Babur was a versatile genius and was endowed with a charming personality. He was frank, sincere, witty and humorous. He was an ardent lover of nature, a fastidious critic, accomplished scholar, a gifted poet and a great patron of art and literature. The *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* has earned for him the title of 'Prince of Diarists' because it is frank, readable and informative. He was a born leader, with an indomitable will, ever ready to defy death. He always inspired confidence. His military genius enabled him to create an Empire which extended from Badakhshan to Bengal.

Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Humayun :

Humayun was born on March 6, 1508. He was given an excellent education. At the age of twelve he was appointed governor of Badakhshan. Three days before his death Babur nominated him as his successor, and he ascended the throne at Agra on the 30 December, 1530.

His problems and difficulties

The two main sources of Humayun's trouble were Afghans and his own brothers and cousins. Bahadur Shah of Gujrat was maturing plans for the overthrow of the Mughuls. Maḥmud Lodi. brother of Ibrahim Lodi, who had been driven away by Babur re-appeared on the scene. 'Ala-ud-din managed to escape from the fort of Badakhshan where he had been confined and sought refuge with Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. Babur had advised Humayun to treat his brothers well: Humayun gave Kabul and Qandhar to Kamran, Alwar and Mewat to Hindal, Sambhal to 'Askari and Badakhshan to Sulaiman.

Leaving Kabul and Qandhar in charge of his brother, 'Askari, Kamran advanced towards Agra on the pretext of congratulating Humayun at his coronation. Humayun scented treachery and informed Kamran of his decision of adding Lamghan and Peshawar to his assignment. Not content with this concession, Kamran crossed the Indus and occupied the Punjab. Humayun ceded Ḥiṣar Firuzah to conciliate Kamran.

Bise of Sher Khan

Humayun easily dispersed the forces of Maḥmud Lodi, but he had soon to reckon with a more formidable enemy in Sher Khan. Farid who had successfully managed the *jagirs* of his father, Ḥasan Khan. had risen, step by step, in the service of Bahadur Khan, governor of Behar, who had conferred upon him the title of Sher Khan for killing a tiger. He then entered the service of Babur, who had granted him several *parganahs* including those of his father. Later as the regent of Jalal Khan, son of Bahar Khan, he became the virtual ruler of Behar and a power to be reckoned with.

In 1530 he captured Chunar. Alarmed at his advance Humayun besieged Chunar. As difficulties were increasing near the capital because of Bahadur Shah's activities, Humayun was glad to receive Sher Khan's formal submission and returned to Agra.

War with Bahadur Shah of Gujrat

Before trying conclusions with Humayun, Bahadur Shah had increased his army and artillery. He had gathered round him the Afghan chiefs and Mughul nobles who had taken refuge with him. While Humayun was engaged in war with Sher Khan, he wanted to deal a timely blow. Leaving Sher Khan, Humayun tunred towards him. Bahadur Shah made a three-pronged attack on the Mughul dominion. One column marched against the Punjab, another towards Agra and a third towards Kalinjar. These columns were either withdrawn or repulsed and Humayun marched against Bahadur Shah. The latter entrenched himself strongly at Mandsur and expected the Emperor to hurl his troops against his batteries. Instead of falling into the trap, Humayun managed to scour the country in the rear of the enemy's camp and cut off his supplies. The besieged Gujratis were reduced to a state of famine and the Sultan, after blowing up his guns, first fled to Mandu and then to Aḥmadabad. Humayun chased him as far as Cambay and took Aḥmadabad on the way. Driven to despair, Bahadur Shah finally took refuge at Diu. Having reduced Gujrat and Malwa, Humayun and his officers took to feasting and merry-making. Meanwhile Bahadur Shah's trusted general, 'Imad-ul-Mulk, occupied Aḥmadabad and assembled a large army. Humayun marched out and defeated 'Imad. Leaving Gujrat in charge of his brother, 'Askari, he returned to the capital. In his absence Gujrat was lost and Malwa followed suit.

Struggle with Sher Khan

On his return from Gujrat, Humayun learnt that Sher Khan had rebellious intentions. He sent Hindu Beg to Jaunpur to study the situation and submit a report. Hindu Beg reported that the Afghan

chief was loyal. Soon after Sher Khan sent his son Jalal and Khawas Khan for the conquest of Bengal. The Afghan army occupied the surrounding country and laid siege to Gaur. The following year Humayun himself led an expedition to Bengal and Behar, but he had first to take possession of Chunar. In the meanwhile Sher Khan occupied Gaur. Humayun could not permit Sher Khan to remain in occupation of Bengal; therefore he marched against him. Sher Khan posted Jalal Khan at Teliagarhi to stop Humayun's advance. When Sher Khan had removed the treasures from Gaur he withdrew Jalal Khan. Humayun now marched forward and occupied Gaur. Humayun had posted Hindal to guard the communications but he slipped away to proclaim himself Emperor. Sher Khan now easily occupied Behar and cut off the Emperor's communications with Agra. Humayun was virtually a prisoner in Bengal and the situation was so desperate that officers had not the courage to inform him of the true facts. When Humayun was at last made aware of the situation he sent Shaikh Buhlul to Hindal to persuade him to come to reason. But Hindal murdered him. Loyal officers called in the aid of Kamran, who quickly brought his brother to his senses; but neither would go to the rescue of the Emperor whose critical position was too well known.

Battles of Chausah and the Ganges

With rebellion at Agra and his communications cut off Humayun had no hope of receiving help from any quarter. It was time to act and he acted with vigour. He advanced as far as Monghyr without encountering opposition. At Chausah he was suddenly checked by Sher Khan. There the two armies confronted each other for two months. Humayun opened negotiations and according to the treaty concluded, Sher Khan was to retain Bengal and part of Behar on the condition of acknowledging the Emperor as his overlord. The armies were about to break up their camps when the Afghans suddenly fell on the Imperial army. The surprise was complete and Humayun

himself had a narrow escape with the help of a water-carrier Niẓam. Most of the army was drowned or captured and the Emperor returned to Agra almost alone (May, 1539).

For about a year the parties prepared for a final fight, Humayun striving in vain to unite his brothers and Sher Khan strengthening his power in Bengal. The two armies at last met near Kanauj, and in the battle that was fought at the bank of the Ganges on the 17th May 1540, Humayun was defeated. Crossing the Ganges, he reached Agra, from where he was driven to Lahore. At the approach of the Afghans, Kamran left for Kabul and Humayun moved along the banks of the Indus towards Multan and Bhakkar.

For fully fifteen years Humayun lived in exile. He spent the first three years in the deserts of Rajputana and Sind. In Sind he married Hamidah Banu Begum in 1541 and the following year he was blessed with a baby (Akbar) at Umarkot. He decided to go to Qandhar, accompanied by Bairam Khan and some others; but to avoid conflict with his brothers he left his son behind and proceeded towards Persia. He entered into a treaty with Shah Isma'il. With his help he took Qandhar from 'Askari in 1545, and Kabul from Kamran in 1547. It was only when his brothers were either dead or driven away that he breathed a sigh of relief: Hindal fell fighting on the field, 'Askari died on his way to Mecca and Kamran, the most ungrateful of them, had to be blinded and despatched to Mecca.

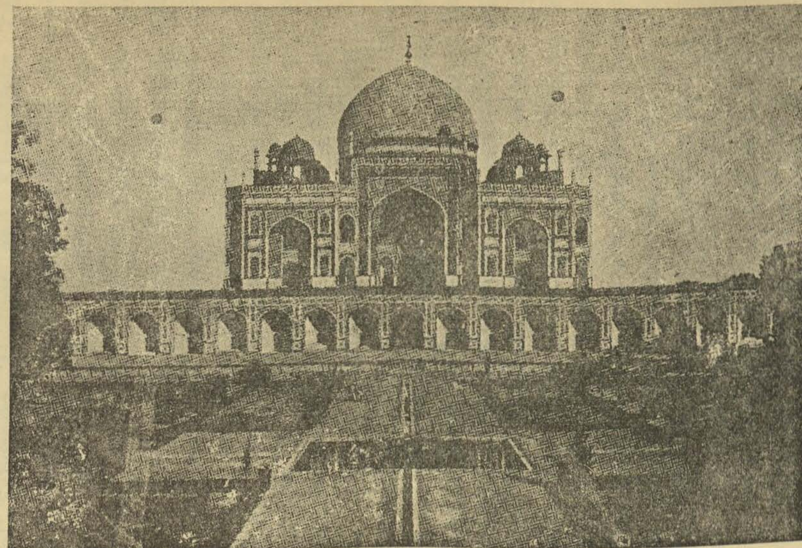
Restoration

Humayun was eagerly watching the trend of events in the sub-continent. Sher Shah had died and the old rivalries of the Afghans had revived. In 1555 he descended from Kabul with only 15,000 horses. He was joined by Bairam Khan on the way at Peshawar. At his approach the Afghans took to flight and Lahore was taken without opposition. Forces were sent against Jullundur and

Sirhind. They gained a great victory at Machiwara, and thus the whole of the Punjab fell into the hands of Humayun. Sikandar Shah Sur, who took the field in person was defeated in the battle of Sirhind and put to flight. The Emperor entered Delhi (23rd July, 1555) in a triumphal procession. He had occupied the throne only for six mohths when he fell from the stairs of his library and died (January 24, 1556).

Character

Punctilious in the performance of religious duties and even-handed dispensation of justice. Humayun was gay at feasts, brave in battle and held his own in learned discussions. He was a great patron of art and literature. He was capable of immense energy, but only in trying situations. The heroic fortitude with which he bore the privations of a fugitive life elicit spontaneous sympathy and admiration.



Tomb of Humayun, Delhi

CHAPTER XXV

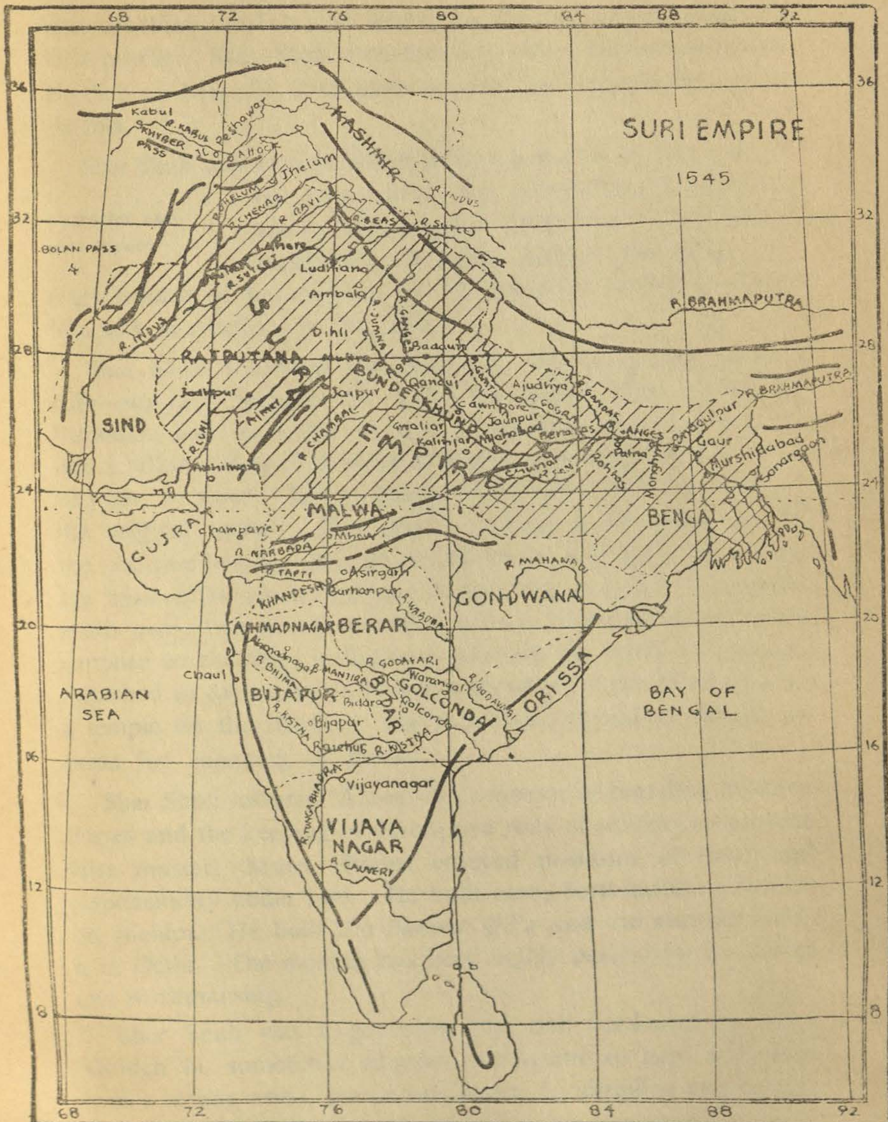
THE SUR DYNASTY

Sher Shah

Farid, the eldest son of Ḥasan, was born in Ḥiṣar Firuzah during the reign of Buhlul Lodi. During Sikandar Lodhi's reign, Hasan was given the assignments of Sahasram, Ḥajipur and Khawaspur Tanda. Farid, finding his paternal home too hot for him on account of the jealousy of his step-mother, spent some years in Jaunpur and studied Arabic, Persian and Muslim Law. At the request of his father he returned home and administered his father's *jagir* with great success, but the jealousy of his step-mother compelled him to leave for Behar and take service under its ruler, Muḥammad Shah. As tutor to Jalal Khan, son of Muḥammad Shah, Farid gained the monarch's confidence. He was given the title of Sher Khan for his skill in killing a tiger in a hunt with a sword. After a short time he had differences with Muḥammad Shah and joined service under Babur. He, however, soon returned and was re-appointed to his old post. After Muḥammad Shah's death, he became the virtual ruler of Behar. After Rana Sangha's defeat at Kanwaha in 1527, his ally Maḥmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, came away to Behar (1521), and was accepted by the Pathan chiefs as their national king. Sher Khan joined Maḥmud Lodi reluctantly. Maḥmud was however defeated by Humayun who now turned his attention to Sher Khan and besieged Chunar which he had secured by marrying its heiress. Humayun in the mean-while had to turn to Gujrat and Sher Khan was left in possession of Chunar on offering his submission. Meanwhile the Lodi nobles became jealous of Sher Khan, and induced their king, Jalal Khan, to seek refuge with Maḥmud Shah, king of Bengal (1533). The Bengal army which began the attack in support of Jalal Khan's cause was disastrously defeated by Sher Khan in the battle of Surajgarh. Sher Khan became the undisputed master of practically the whole of Behar. In 1535, during the absence of Humayun in Gujrat, he captured

more districts in eastern Behar which were then in possession of the king of Bengal, and next year, appeared before Gaur and secured thirteen lakhs of gold *mohurs* from the ruler. In 1538, he besieged Gaur again, and when Humayun took the field against him he hastened to Chunar which he failed to save, but succeeded in seizing the strong fort of Rohtas from the Hindu chief. Leaving the advancing Mughul army behind him, he suddenly appeared before Gaur by a different route, seized it and had himself crowned in 1538 under the title of Farid-ud-din Sher Shah. At the approach of Humayun, he abandoned Gaur and came to Chunar and Banaras through the Jharkhand hills and completely cut off Humayun's supply line. The defeat of Humayun at Chausah and Kanauj has already been described. Sher Shah thus became the undisputed ruler of north Hind-Pakistan. He received the submission of the Baloch and Ghakkar chiefs and built the powerful fort of Rohtas, on the banks of the Jhelum, in order to guard his western frontier.

He suppressed the rebellion of Khiḍr Khan, the governor of Bengal, who had assumed airs of royalty after marrying the daughter of Maḥmud Shah, king of Bengal, without his permission. He compelled the raja of Gwalior (1540) and the chiefs of Malwa and Ranthambor (1542) to submit to him. In 1543, he marched against Puran Mal who had enslaved many Hindu and Muslim women in the fort of Raisen. Puran Mal and his Rajput soldiers fought and were killed, Haibat Khan Niazi, Sher Shah's general, brought Multan under subjugation. In the beginning of 1544, he led a campaign against Maldeo, the Rathor raja of Jodhpur, who was defeated in a hotly contested battle near Ajmer. His last campaign was directed against Kirat Singh, the raja of Kalinjar (1544). The siege of the fort lasted for about a year. One day Sher Shah was discharging hand grenades over the fort, taking, his stand on the summit of an earth-work raised round the fort. The grenade fell back


SURI EMPIRE
1545
Kabul
R. KABUL
Peshawar
KHYBER PASS
ATTOCK
Jhelum
KASHMIR
R. INDUS
R. JHELUM
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
R. BEAS
R. SUTLEJ
BOLAN PASS
Lahore
Ludhiana
Ambala
R. INDUS
Dihli
Badaun
RAJPUTANA
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Jaipur
BUNDELKHAND
Qanauj
Ajudhya
Cawnpore
Jaunpur
Gwalior
Kalinjar
R. CHAMBAL
R. JUMNA
R. GANGES
R. GOGRA
R. GANDAK
Benares
Patna
Rohtas
Chunar
Bhagalpur
Gaur
Murshidabad
Sonargaon
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
SIND
R. LUNI
Anhilwara
GUJRAT
Champanier
MALWA
Mhow
R. NARBADA
BENGAL
R. TAPTI
Asirgarh
KHANDESH
Burhanpur
R. WARDHA
GONDWANA
R. MAHANADI
AHMADNAGAR
BERAR
R. GODAVARI
Chaul
R. BHIMA
R. MANJIRA
Warangal
BIJAPUR
Bidar
GOLCONDA
Golconda
R. GODAVARI
ORISSA
R. KISTNA
Bijapur
Raichur
R. KISTNA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
R. TUNGABHADRA
Vijayanagar
VIJAYA NAGAR
R. CAUVERY
68
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after touching the fort wall and exploded the powder magazine kept nearby. Sher Shah was severely burnt in the explosion. He died on May 22, 1545, after hearing the news of the fall of the fort.

Character and achievement

Sher Shah was an able administrator and a successful general. He reorganized the administrative machine which had become inefficient. His vigilant supervision brought greater efficiency into every branch of government, but it would be wrong to credit him with innovations in this field.

Sher Shah reformed the currency. He introduced a new coin—*rupiyah*—because the old coin *tankah*, first issued by Iltutmish, had in course of time been debased and converted into a billon (alloy of silver and copper) coin and had now sunk very low in value. It was almost of the same intrinsic value as the original *tankah*. Sher Shah's *rupiyah* is the precursor of the modern rupee. He promoted trade and repaired roads. He built 1700 *sarais* and rest houses for travellers along the roads every two *karohs* (about 4 miles), where provisions were supplied to travellers including fodder for the beasts of burden. Attached to each *sarai* there was a mosque for the Muslims and a temple for the Hindus. The *sarais* also served as *chaukis* or posts for changing of horses.

Sher Shah restored 'Ala-ud-din's system of branding military horses and the keeping of descriptive rolls of soldiers to prevent false muster. Many Hindus enjoyed positions of trust and responsibility under him. He built many forts including Rohtas on Jhelum. He built the *Purana Qil'a* and the mosque inside it in Delhi. The mosque has been highly praised for its design and workmanship.

Sher Shah was a generous, just and hard-working ruler. Though he sometimes adopted stratagems to gain advantage over a strong army, yet he was averse to shedding unnecessary blood. He was chivalrous in his treatment of women prisoners.

He took special care to protect the cultivated fields, and if any damage was unavoidable the peasant was given compensation. He was specially generous to the Hindus.

Islam Shah (1545-54)

On May 26, 1545, Jalal Khan, second son of Sher Shah, was summoned from Patna, because 'Adil Khan, his elder brother, being in Ranthambor, was unable to arrive soon enough to be enthroned at Kalinjar. He took the title of Islam Shah. A reconciliation between him and 'Adil Khan was effected and the latter was sent as governor to Bayana. But soon after a treacherous attempt was made by Islam Shah to seize his brother, whereupon 'Adil Khan fled to Khawas Khan in Mewat. The combined armies of 'Adil Khan and Khawas Khan were defeated by Islam Shah near Agra. Khawas Khan fled to Mewat, but was defeated again. Islam Shah, like Ibrahim Lodi, became suspicious of the nobles and confined many of them within the State prison of Gwalior. This alarmed the nobles. Haibat Khan Niazi revolted in Lahore and took up the cause of 'Adil Khan who meanwhile had been chased by the royal army from Behar to the Punjab. Khawas Khan also joined them. The rebel confederacy was defeated and dispersed near Ambala. Islam Shah died in Gwalior, which was his favourite place of residence, on November, 22, 1554.

Islam Shah built many caravan *sarais*. He constructed a fort named Islamgarh on the bank of the Jumna to strengthen the defence of Delhi. He built an imposing mausoleum over the grave of his father, at Sahasram. It is one of the masterpieces of Sayyid-Lodi architecture. He was a patron of music and expert in the practice of the art. He also patronized learning and his court was thronged by poets and scholars. After his death the Empire soon sank into a state of anarchy. Adil Shah seized the throne but the real power passed into the hands of Himu, a *bania* of Rewari. Taking advantage of these conditions Humayun returned and took possession of Delhi.

AKBAR

Akbar was born in 1542 at Umarkot when Humayun was in exile in Rajputana. Soon after this Humayun had to leave the sub-continent and the new born child was taken charge of by his aunt, the wife of Mirza 'Askari.

When Humayun reconquered Kabul and Qandhar on his return from Iran, the child was restored to him. In his boyhood Akbar was mainly interested in hunting and riding and subsequently grew into a good sportsman and a soldier. Although in his later days Akbar developed a keen interest in learning and literature and became fond of religious and philosophical discussions, yet in the days of his childhood he found very little time to make any progress as a student. Akbar was only fourteen years old when he ascended the throne in 1556. He was at the moment busy in a war against the Afghans, but Bairam Khan who was acting as guardian of the young prince lost no time in declaring him Emperor and holding a coronation ceremony in a garden at Kalanaur. The new Emperor had a number of problems staring him in the face, and the task that lay before him required the greatest caution and much courage. Humayun had no doubt been able to reconquer the Punjab, Delhi and Agra, but the rest of the Empire was still in the hands of his enemies. 'Adil Shah Suri, who held sway in Behar, had already despatched an army against Humayun under the command of Himu, who, availing himself of the conditions created by Humayun's death, had marched upon Delhi and captured it without much difficulty.

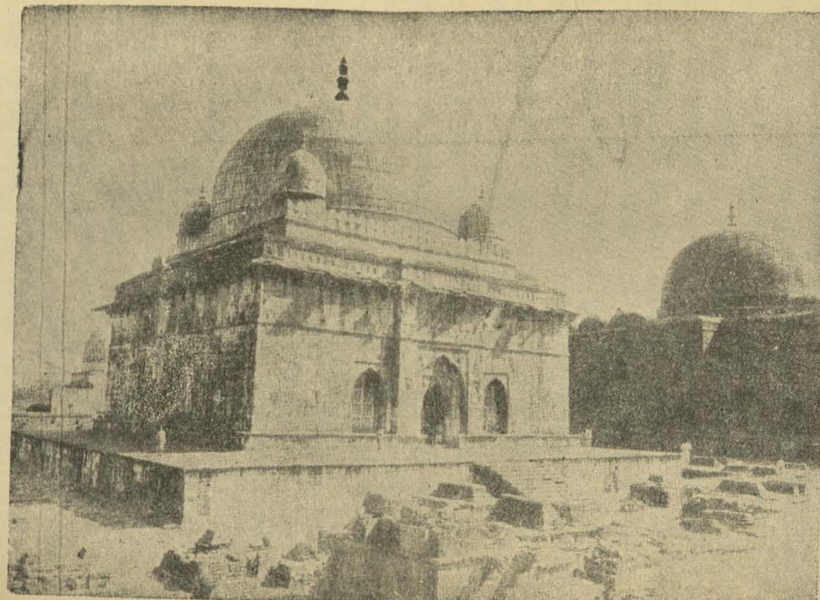
The second battle of Panipat, 1556

These victories had turned Himu's head; he had assumed the title of *Vikramaditya* and was looking forward to building up an independent Kingdom for himself. In the Mughul camp, on the other hand, pessimism reigned supreme. The officers of the Imperial army were divided in their views as to their future

course of action. They had to choose between offering battle to the numerically superior forces of Himu and making a retreat towards Kabul. In the end Bairam Khan's iron will prevailed and the Mughul army was for a second time within thirty years arrayed in the historic field of Panipat to contest the throne of Delhi. Himu had a strong army under his command, numbering about a hundred thousand troops while the Mughuls were hardly able to collect twenty thousand. The disparity in equipment and resources was as great as in numbers. After his return from exile Humayun had but little time to build up a strong army or consolidate the recaptured territories by organizing the loyal elements of the population. In fact few kings in the history of this sub-continent had left for their successors such complicated problems and liabilities as had been left by the Emperor Humayun. In short, Himu, was confident of a sure and easy victory. Proudly taking his seat on the back of an elephant he was leading an attack on the heart of the Mughul army when suddenly an arrow pierced his left eye. He fell down senseless, his elephant ran away and his men fled for their lives. His entire army became panicky and then dispersed while Himu was captured and later beheaded on a charge of treason. After recapturing Delhi the Mughuls resumed their operations against Sikandar Shah Sur. He was soon forced to offer submission and accept a jagir from the new Emperor. In the meanwhile Akbar's officers captured Jaunpur and Gwalior, and soon after he found himself in a position to turn his attention to more distant parts of the Empire.

Bairam Khan

As Akbar was a mere youth with but little experience of administration the main work of the government had naturally fallen on the shoulders of his regent and tutor, Bairam Khan, who had rendered great services to the Mughul house. It was he who had really saved the Empire from the Afghans, established peace and security and restored confidence among the people. But unfortunately



The Tomb of Hushang

he had of late developed a sense of pride, and his attitude had become overbearing. During the four years that he had been in power he had by some of his actions aroused the suspicions of the other nobles and made himself unpopular at the court. His opponents had started poisoning the ears of their young monarch against his conduct and impressed upon his mind the need of ousting him from power. Akbar, who was now eighteen years of age, believed that he should take the administration into his own hands. In 1560 he sent a *farman* to Bairam Khan saying that he had decided to take over the government under his own control and that it would be better for him to go on *Hajj*. Bairam Khan obeyed the royal order and started preparations for a pilgrimage, but later, when he was treated in a manner unworthy of his position and dignity, raised the standard of rebellion. He marched into the Punjab where he was soon overtaken by the royal army. He fought in a half-hearted manner, was defeated and surrendered himself near Jullundur. Akbar pardoned him and again permitted him to go to Mecca. But on his way he was assassinated at Pattan in Gujrat by a soldier whose father had been executed by him. Bairam Khan's son, 'Abdur Rahim Khan, was brought up and educated by Akbar, and later on he attained position and fame.

Conquest of Malwa and Gondwana

In 1560 Akbar sent two of his generals Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan to conquer Malwa. Baz Bahadur, the King of Malwa, was easily defated, and his territory was annexed to the Empire. For some years Baz Bahadur lived as a homeless wanderer, but ultimately he accepted Akbar's service and was admitted to the rank of nobility. After Malwa the Hindu state of Gondwana was also conquered and annexed.

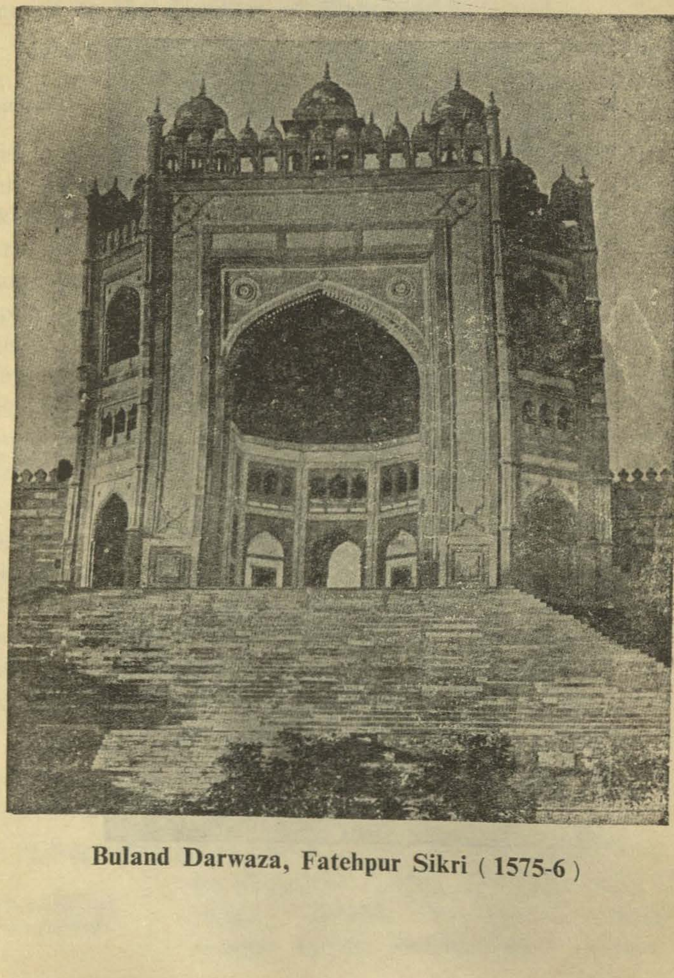
Khan Zaman's rebellion

In the meantime Akbar had to meet and suppress several rebellions. The first to raise the standard of revolt was 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the governor of Malwa. Akbar himself proceeded to

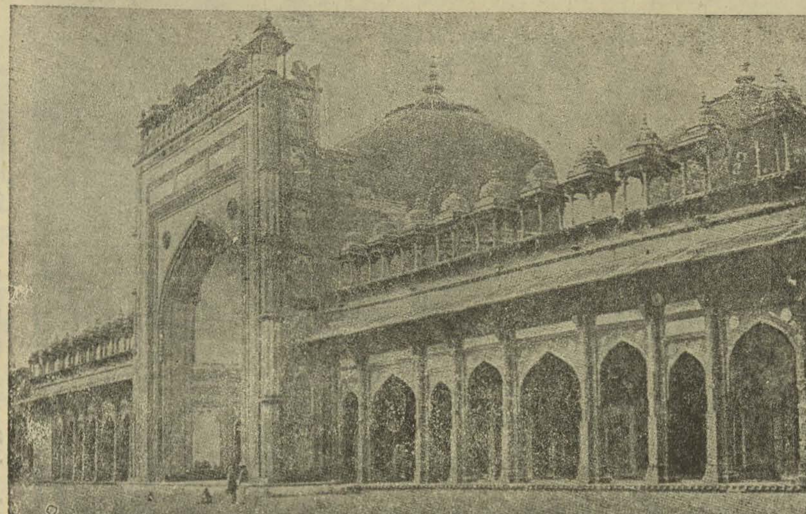
Mandu to crush the rising. 'Abdullah Khan was defeated and fled for his life to Gujrat. From there he went to Jaunpur and entered into a conspiracy with Khan Zaman, the governor of Jaunpur, who was also in revolt. But Akbar defeated their joint armies and occupied Jaunpur. More serious than either of these revolts was the invasion of his half brother, Mirza Hakim, because it made the situation in the whole of the Punjab uncertain. But Akbar proved equal to the task and without showing any sign of anxiety he led his army towards the Punjab. Hakim lost courage and fled back to Kabul even before Akbar had arrived. Akbar returned to Agra, but was soon again in the field, marching towards the east in order to punish Khan Zaman. The latter was killed in the battle-field, and those of his followers who could not escape were captured and punished. During his difficult years he exhibited great courage and determination.

Conquest of Rajputana

Akbar had early realised that it would substantially contribute to the strength and permanence of his Empire if he could establish good relations with the Hindus and allow them to participate actively in the affairs of the government. In order to attain that end he gave high offices and ranks to many Hindus, particularly the Rajputs, and also married a number of Rajput girls. The result of this conciliatory policy was that during his reign and the reigns of his successors many Rajput families lent their full support to the Empire. The friendship and close association of the Rajputs indirectly resulted in reducing the importance and power of the Afghan and Uzbek nobles. In the long run, however, this policy of Akbar proved to be a source of the weakening of the Muslim influence in the political life of the sub-continent. The first Rajput who gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar was Raja Bahar Mal of Amber (Jaipur). In 1562 when Akbar was going to Ajmer to pay his homage at the tomb of Hadrat Khwajah Mu'in-ud-din Chishti, Bahar



Buland Darwaza, Fatehpur Sikri (1575-6)



Jami' Masjid-Fatehpur Sikri

Mal came to him and offered his services and allegiance. Akbar gladly accepted the offer and married the raja's daughter on return from Ajmer. The raja's son, Bhagwandas, and grandson were appointed to high offices. In 1570 Akbar married the princesses of Bikaner and Jaisalmer, and his son Salim was later married to the daughter of Bhagwandas.

Chitor

There were, however, some of the Rajput States which were inclined to be refractory, and of these the first to be conquered was Chitor. Uday Singh, the raja of Chitor, was a coward. Instead of facing the Mughul army he ran away in fear and hid himself in the mountains. Akbar laid seige to the strong fortress of Chitor and the Rajput garrison offered resistance under the command of two chiefs, Jaimal and Patta. One night when Jaimal was supervising the repairs of the fort Akbar caught a glimpse of him and shot him dead. The Rajputs now became desperate and burned all their women in accordance with the rite of *jauhar*. They came out of the fort one and all to give their last fight. But no good came out of this suicidal folly: they were all killed and Akbar entered the city in full triumph. Uday Singh who had fled away from his capital died in 1572, but his son Rana Pratap continued to resist the Mughul armies. The best known battle fought by him was that of Haldi Ghat. He fought with courage and bravery but was unable to stand the charge of the Mughul force, and of his entire army only eight thousand managed to escape death. Even after this defeat he continued an ineffective struggle against the Mughuls till the time of his death in 1597.

After the fall of Chitor Akbar turned his attention to other independent Rajput States, and within two years conquered Ranthambor, Bundi and Kalinjar.

Hadrat Shaikh Salim Chishti

Akbar often prayed at Ajmer for the birth and survival of his children. In spite of this they all died in infancy. Besides this, he often presented himself before Shaikh Salim Chishti who

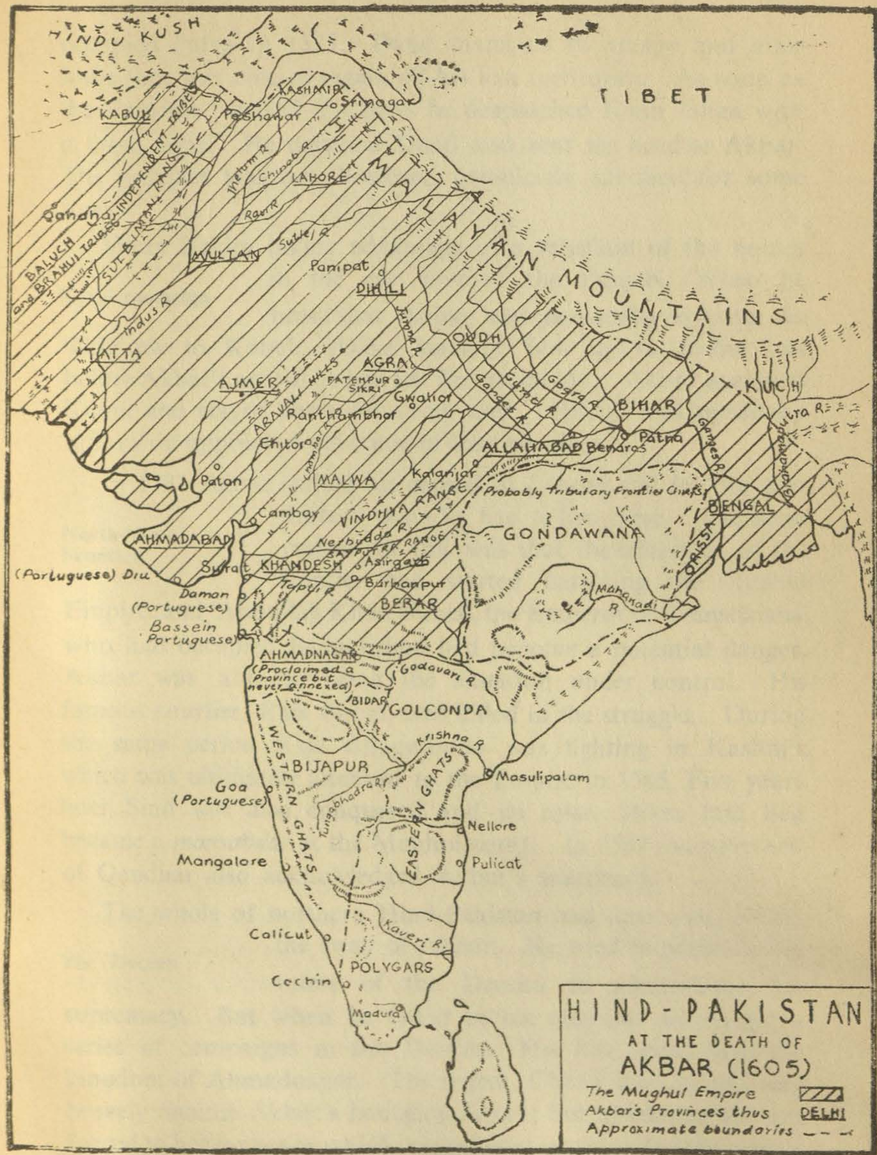
lived at Sikri, not far from Agra, in order to receive his blessings. The Shaikh had consoled him saying that his prayers would be granted and that he should not be worried on that account. Accordingly when a son was born to him in 1569 he named him Salim after the *Shaikh*. The same year he had another son who was given the name of Murad. Two years later he had a third son by another wife, and as at the time of the child's birth his mother was staying at the house of Shaikh Danyal the boy was named 'Danyal'. In 1570 he went on pilgrimage to Ajmer and paid his respects to Shaikh Salim Chishti on his way back. His faith in the spiritual powers of the *Shaikh* had become so strong that he decided to live permanently at Fatehpur Sikri and ordered the construction of palaces and other buildings there. For the next fifteen years Sikri remained the headquarters of the Mughul Empire. The city is now absolutely deserted but the buildings are mostly intact and give the visitor an idea of life at Court in those days.

Conquest of Gujrat

Akbar decided to reconquer Gujrat and sent a force to occupy it. The king of Gujrat, Muzaffar Shah III, made an attempt to escape but was captured. Akbar returned to his capital. The *amirs* of Gujrat, particularly the *Mirzas*, rose against the Mughul governor. On receiving a report of this rebellion the Emperor acted with great promptitude and reached Gujrat by forced marches much earlier than could be expected. He is stated to have covered fifty miles a day and completed this long journey in the surprisingly short period of eleven days. The Gujratis were taken by surprise and were unable to offer him serious resistance. Thus Gujrat was conquered.

Conquest of Bengal

The ruler of Bengal, Daud, was a young and haughtly Afghan who was not able to maintain good relations with Akbar as his father had done. Accordingly Akbar decided to invade Bengal and


HINDU KUSH
TIBET
KABUL
Peshawar
KASHMIR
Srinagar
LAHORE
Qandhar
INDEPENDENT TRIBES
BALUCH and BRAHUI TRIBES
MULTAN
Panipat
DIHLI
HIMALAYAN MOUNTAINS
Indus R.
TATTA
OUDH
AGRA
AJMER
ARAWALI HILLS
FATEHPUR SIKRI
Gwalior
Ranthambhor
BIHAR
Patna
KUCH
Chitor
ALLAHABAD
Benares
Patan
MALWA
Kalanjar
VINDHYA RANGE
Probably Tributary Frontier Chiefs
BENGAL
Cambay
GONDAWANA
AHMADABAD
ORISSA
Surat
KHANDESH
Asirgarh
(Portuguese) Diu
Daman (Portuguese)
Burhanpur
BERAR
Bassein Portuguese)
AHMADNAGAR
(Proclaimed a Province but never annexed)
Godavari R.
BIDAR
GOLCONDA
WESTERN GHATS
Krishna R.
BIJAPUR
Masulipatam
Goa (Portuguese)
EASTERN GHATS
Nellore
Mangalore
Pulicat
Calicut
Kaveri R.
POLYGARS
Cochin
Madura
HIND-PAKISTAN
AT THE DEATH OF
AKBAR (1605)
The Mughul Empire
Akbar's Provinces thus DELHI
Approximate boundaries

occupied Patna in 1575. Daud managed to escape and after some time was able to regain all his lost territories. As soon as the Emperor received this news he despatched Khan Jahan with a large army. He defeated Daud and sent his head to Akbar. The province was not, however, completely subdued for some time.

Kabul campaign

Mirza Ḥakim taking advantage of a rebellion of the nobles in the east entered the Punjab. When he heard that Akbar was personally coming, he withdrew to Kabul. Akbar pursued him up to Kabul but before Akbar's arrival he had left that place too. Akbar occupied Kabul and stayed there for some time. Hakim was pardoned and again appointed governor of that province.

North-West Frontier

In 1583 Akbar shifted his capital to Lahore and for the next thirteen years he had to live there. The main reason for this was that the tribesmen of the frontier had started harassing the Mughul Empire, and 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the Emperor of Transoxiana, who had occupied Badakhshan had become a potential danger. Akbar was able to bring the situation under control. His famous courtier, Raja Birbal, was killed in the struggle. During the same period Raja Bhagwandas was fighting in Kashmir which was ultimately annexed to the Empire in 1585. Five years later Sind was also conquered and its ruler, Mirza Jani Beg became a *mansabdar* at the Mughul court. In 1597 the governor of Qandhar also acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty.

The Deccan

The whole of northern Hind-Pakistan had now come under the sway of Akbar. He tried to persuade the rulers of the Deccan to acknowledge his supremacy. But when he failed in his attempts he started a series of campaigns in the Deccan. His first target was the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The regent, Chand Bibi, fought very bravely against Akbar's besieging forces; but ultimately she was forced to beg for peace which was granted in return for the cession

of Berar. Not long after war broke out again. Chand Bibi was murdered as a result of a conspiracy and Ahmadnagar became a province of the Mughul Empire. In 1601 the strong fort of Asirgarh fell into the hands of Akbar, and with it the kingdom of Khandesh. The conquests in the Deccan added three new provinces to the Mughul Empire, namely Ahmadnagar, Berar and Khandesh. These were the last annexations of Akbar's long reign.

Akbar's death (1605)

While Akbar was still in the Deccan he heard that Prince Salim was getting restive at Allahabad. Akbar immediately went to Agra and also sent for Abul Faḍl from the Deccan, but the latter was killed on his way by a Bundela chief at the instance of Prince Salim. Abul Faḍl's death made the Emperor extremely sad. At the same time Mansingh and certain other *amirs* of his court formed a conspiracy against Salim with a view to supporting his son, Khusrau, for succession to the throne. But this conspiracy proved abortive and Salim ascended the throne after the death of his father. When Akbar fell ill Salim came to see him. He was then too weak to speak, but was still in control of his senses. Just before his death he handed to Salim the sword of Humayun, which he had by his side, and by signs urged him to put the royal robes, thus indicating his desire that Salim should be his successor.

Character and policy

Akbar has often been praised as one of the greatest rulers of history. He was a strong and well-built man and had an impressive personality. He had a robust common sense, penetrating intelligence, extraordinary physical strength and indomitable courage. He was endowed with balance of judgment and determination. He was considerable in his treatment of the officers of the State but he would never tolerate irregularity or delinquency. He was a patron of learning and literature. Although

he was given no education in his youth, he had an excellent memory. In the company of learned men he soon acquired considerable knowledge and good taste. He was a good judge of human character and generally chose capable officers. He introduced general reforms in the administration, recognised the services in accordance with the *mansabdari* system and brought about many changes in revenue administration as well. It is reported that he used to take his meals only once in twenty four hours and even then would never eat to his full. He had accustomed himself to hard work and worked throughout the day except for a few hours of sleep at night.

Akbar was very fond of hunting and out-door games. He was particularly interested in polo. He was fond of listening to the conversation of scholars and religious leaders and had collected a large number of eminent and talented men among whom the most conspicuous were the two brothers Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi. Of the many Hindu courtiers of Akbar the Rajput Chief, Mansingh, and the revenue expert, Todar Mal, had attained great distinction. Akbar was a great annexationist. When he ascended the throne of his father in 1556 the Mughul sovereignty extended over a limited country around Delhi. Even here his authority was not uncontested. Nevertheless soon after making himself secure on the throne, Akbar started a career of conquest and as a result of half a century of wars and annexations he was able to bring the whole of northern subcontinent and several provinces of the Deccan under his sway. His fame, however, does not rest mainly on his conquests. Indeed he claims our admiration more for organising and reforming the administrative machinery of the government than for extending the territories of his Empire.

Din-i-Ilahi

Akbar started his life as a devout and orthodox Muslim. His later attitute towards religion has been a subject of controversy. Some European writers have accused him of having completely abjured Islam

and of introducing a new religion of his own called the *Din-i-Ilahi*. Among the Muslim writers Badayuni has also accused Akbar of hostility towards orthodox Islam. When all exaggeration is discounted there remains little doubt that Akbar did, for some time, stray from the path of orthodoxy. Being himself not properly educated he confused issues and was led away by conflicting opinions and philosophies. Yet it would be wrong to say that he discarded Islam or grew hostile to it. In his letters to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek he protects strongly that he had always been a Muslim and that his policy of conciliation was aimed at strengthening Islam in the sub-continent and had even borne fruit inasmuch as non-Muslims fought to expand the authority of Islam. Akbar was guided by the spirit of tolerance prevailing at the time when, under the influence of the *bhakti* movement several Muslim and Hindu spiritual teachers put forward the theory of the unity of all religions and attracted to themselves disciples of different religious groups. Akbar was also persuaded to take upon himself the duty of guiding his people in the realm of spiritual matters. He therefore accepted disciples from all communities. The question of the rejection of Islam did not arise at all. On the foundation of a pantheistic mysticism which was current at the time he built a structure of electicism the significance of which he never properly understood. Finally, however, he realised his error and returned to the fold. His system of *Din-i-Ilahi* was an attempt to bring closer various elements in his kingdom, but experience shows that in spite of all these efforts the two nations—Hindus and Muslims—never merged into one.

CHAPTER XXVII

JAHANGIR

Jahangir was born at Agra on August 30, 1569. He inherited a robust constitution, a handsome face and well-proportioned limbs. He was well read in Persian and Turkish. He picked up a fair knowledge of Hindi and delighted in Hindi songs. He was noted for his courage and bravery.

Early life

Salim's official career began early. He was elevated to the *mansab* of ten thousand at the age of nine and to that of twelve thousand at the age of sixteen. He married the daughter of the raja of Amber in 1585. Salim ascended the throne at Agra in October, 1605, under the title of Nur-ud-din Muḥammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi. He promised to protect Islam. He abolished a number of obnoxious taxes and instituted a gold chain connected with a cluster of bells in his chamber in order to receive the petitions and redress the grievances of the afflicted.

Khusrau's career and death

Prince Khusrau was the eldest son of Jahangir. Born in 1587, he was a handsome young man. A party of nobles wanted to raise him to the throne. However, after Jahangir's accession, Khusrau came to the court. He possessed agreeable manners and irreproachable character. In view of his past candidacy to the throne he was placed in the fort of Agra in semi-confinement. In April 1606, he escaped towards the Punjab, and with Guru Arjun's blessings, raised an army of about 12000 men with which he unsuccessfully besieged Lahore. Jahangir sent a force in pursuit which defeated Khusrau at Bhairowal, near Jullundur. He managed to escape but was soon captured, severely reproached and again confined. His companions were punished and Guru Arjun was executed for blessing and financially supporting the rebel prince. In 1622 he died of colic at Burhanpur.

Wars and campaigns: Bengal

The Afghans in Bengal openly rebelled under their veteran eader 'Uthman Khan. The youthful Mughul governor, Islam Khan, was a capable man and took stern measures to suppress them. In 1612 a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Nek Ujyal. The political power of the Afghans who had opposed the advent of the Mughuls since the days of Babur came to an end. Jahangir adopted a kind and conciliatory policy towards the vanquished and sought their firm friendship by enlisting the Afghans in the service of the State. His wisdom and clemency were crowned with success; the Afghans were won over and the stability of the Mughul Empire was ensured.

Mewar

In 1608 the Emperor sent Mahabat Khan against Mewar. He forced the enemy to take shelter in the hills and jungles. While the Mughuls succeeded in pitched battles they failed to penetrate the wild and rugged country and could not cope with the guerilla tactics of the Rajputs. Prince Khurram was therefore put in charge of the campaign. He followed the scorched earth policy and planned to starve out the Rajputs in their retreats. The families of many Rajput chieftains were captured and the will to fight of the Rana himself, which had never been strong, was at last sapped. He sent overtures offering to recognise Mughul supremacy but begged to be excused attendance at court. He also agreed to contribute a contingent of 1,000 horse. Chitor was never to be fortified again. Jahangir accepted the Rana's submission on these terms.

Kangra

A notable military success of the reign of Jahangir was the conquest of the strong fortress of Kangra in the hills of north-eastern Punjab in 1620.

Kandhar

Taking advantage of its weak defence, Shah 'Abbas, the Shah of Persia, besieged Qandhar and finally took it in 1622. The huge preparations of Jahangir for recapturing Qandhar were in vain, as Shah Jahan

whom he ordered to lead the expedition refused to march to Qandhar and rose in rebellion.

The Deccan

On his accession, Jahangir adopted his father's forward policy in the Deccan. A desultory war went on during his reign against the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Prince Khurram having obtained the Deccan command entered Burhanpur in March 1617. Assisted by veteran generals like Khan Khanan, Khan Jahan and Mahabat Khan he forced 'Ali 'Adil Shah to accept terms dictated by the Emperor. 'Adil Shah waited on the prince with presents worth 15 lakhs. The Bala Ghat, recently seized by Malik 'Ambar, was ceded and the keys of the fort of Ahmadnagar were delivered. The prince was richly rewarded by his father and was elevated to the rank of thirty thousand *zat* and *sawar*. Khurram was honoured by the title of Shah Jahan and the unique privilege of a seat in his father's presence.

As soon as Shah Jahan turned his back on the Deccan, trouble started. Malik 'Ambar had bowed before the storm only to raise his head again. In 1620 he broke the treaty of 1617 and formed a league with Golconda and Bijapur. The Mughuls won several pitched battles but victories were of little avail against guerilla warfare. The Marathas harassed them and almost all the portions of Ahmadnagar and Berar which were in their hands were lost. The Deccanis besieged Burhanpur itself. Shah Jahan was sent again to the Deccan. The Marathas were driven with heavy slaughter across the Narbada. The prince was advancing for the relief of Ahmadnagar when Malik 'Ambar offered submission which was accepted. Shah Jahan once again brought about the successful termination of the Deccan War. Malik 'Ambar had, however, only tactfully bent before the storm, but had not been crushed.

Malik 'Ambar raised his head again when the fortunes of the Empire were on the wane; Qandhar had been lost and Shah Jahan had refused to proceed to its relief and broken out in

open revolt. Shah Jahan arrived in Ahmadnagar, entered into an alliance with Malik 'Ambar and besieged Burhanpur. But on the arrival of Mahabat Khan from the north, he had to raise the siege and make peace with the Emperor. Such was the situation in the Deccan when Jahangir died.

It can be seen that Jahangir's forward policy in the Deccan was not very successful. The mainspring of the difficulties of the Mughuls throughout Jahangir's reign was the consummate genius of Malik 'Ambar. He saw the military advantage in the rugged Deccan platean of developing guerilla tactics and employing Marathas as predatory bands. By his energy and resourcefulness this eminent Abyssinian effectively checkmated the advance of the Mughuls. The Deccan still remained unsubdued and the expenditure of millions of rupees and thousands of lives had not advanced the Mughul frontier a single mile since Akbar's death.

Nur Jahan

Mehrunnisa was born in 1577. At the age of seventeen she was married to 'Ali Quli Istalju. Prince Salim awarded him the title of *Sher Afgan* for killing a tiger. On his accession, Jahangir awarded him a *jagir* in Burdwan. On hearing that Sher Afgan was inclined to be rebellious, the governor of Bengal was ordered to send him to the capital. Sher Afgan resisted and mortally wounded the governor. In turn he was killed by the latter's retainers. Sher Afgan's widow and little daughter were sent to the court, where she was appointed lady-in-waiting to the Queen Mother. In 1611 Jahangir happened to see Mehrunnisa in the *Mina Bazar* and was so captivated that he married her.

Mehrunnisa was thirty-four at the time of her second marriage and was styled Nur Jahan by the Emperor. She was remarkably beautiful and highly accomplished. She was kind-hearted and supported the poor and defrayed the marriage expenses of hundreds of girls. She was a devoted wife, was extremely intelligent and could grasp the details of the most complicated affairs.

The governing features of Nur Jahan's character were her masterful intellect, unlimited ambition and domineering will. She gradually gathered great authority in her hands and became a power behind the throne. In order to cement her alliance with the heir-apparent, Khurram was married to her niece. Her power increased grazdually and as Jahangir grew older and his health became weaker after his severe illness in 1620, her ascendancy in the affairs of the Empire reached its height.

After the glorious termination of the campaigns against Mewar, Kangra and the Deccan, Khurram had established his reputation as a great general and a born ruler of men. Nur Jhan with her dominating nature could not reconcile herself to the idea of playing a subordinate role if Khurram succeeded to the throne. Khurram's brother Shahryar had little strength of character and was sure to be a willing tool in her hands. She married her daughter by Sher Afgan, Ladli Begum to Shahryar and notwithstanding the fact that Prince Khurram was the acknowledged heir to the throne she put forward the claims of her son-in-law in preference to his.

The deciding factor of the closing years of Jahangir's reign was Nur Jahan's determination to clear the path for her son-in-law to the throne. This led to very serious repercussions. She worked hard to undermine the increasing power and influence of Shah Jahan. She pushed Shah Jahan to the edge of desperation and he broke out in open revolt. By this Nur Jahan had almost succeeded in the destruction of this principal rival of Shahryar. Shah Jahan, who was the acknowledgd vicegerant of the Empire until 1621, had been humiliated and rendered powerless, above all he stood discredited in the eyes of his father. She had grown jealous of Mahabat Khan's reputation as a general and considered him a source of danger because he had always been opposed to her. She managed to get him summoned to the Court from Bengal. Suspecting treachery Mahabat Khan

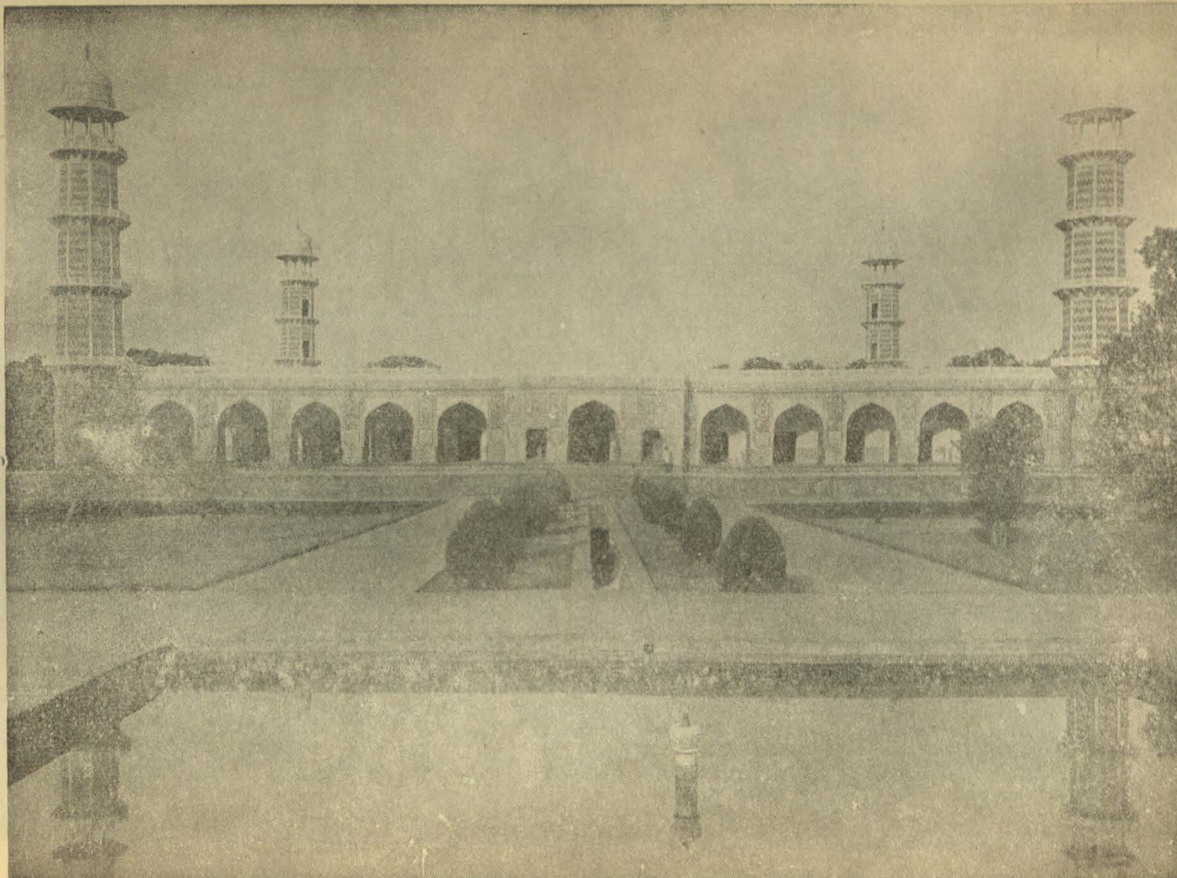
set out, escorted by four or five thousand Rajputs, and seized the person of the Emperor when he was about to cross the Jhelum. Nur Jahan escaped. She displayed remarkable courage and coolness in this dark hour but her qualities were of little avail against the great general. Where force failed tact succeeded. She rejoined Jahangir in captivity. By her presence of mind and resourcefulness and by her talents for diplomacy she outwitted Mahabat and secured the release of the Emperor. She passed her last days at Lahore in company with her daughter, the widow of Shahryar, and died in 1645.

Shah Jahan

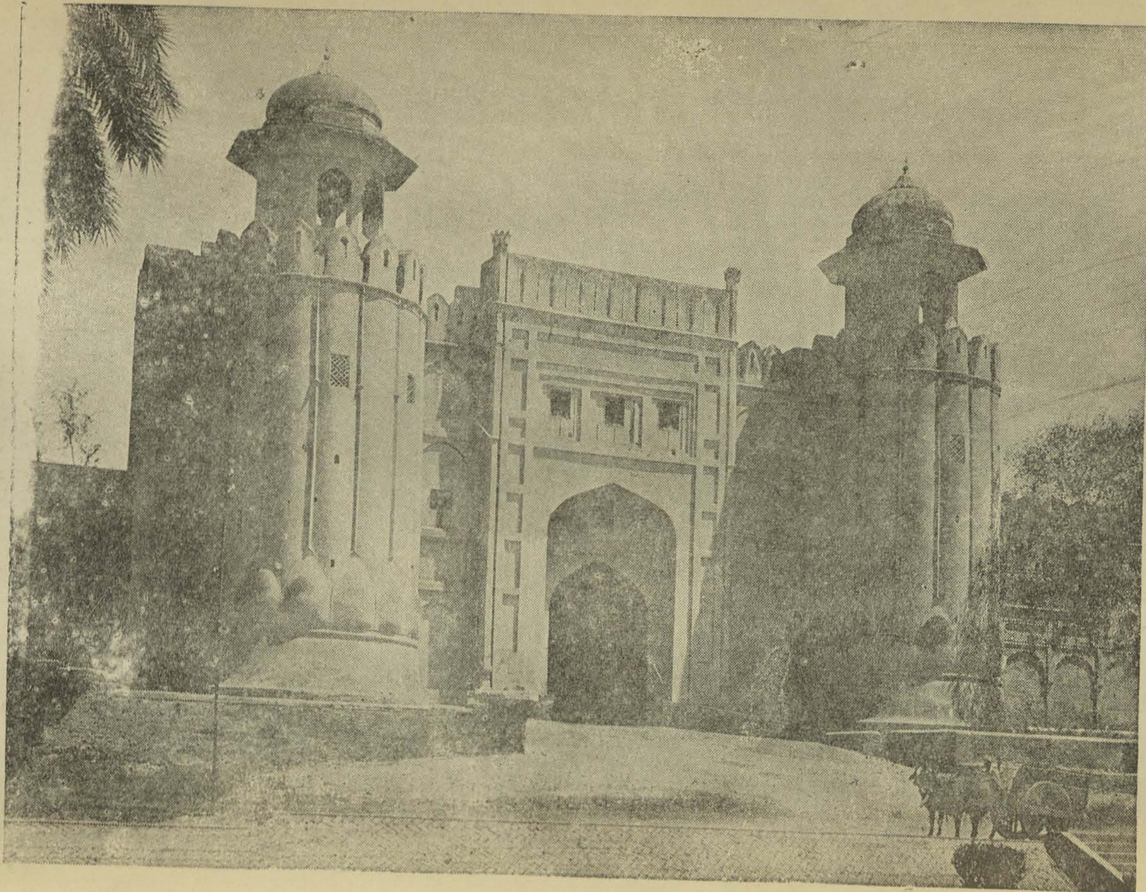
It has been related how Nur Jahan intrigued against Shah Jahan. When he was asked to take the command for the recovery of Qandhar he asked for the governorship of the Punjab and the fortress of Ranthambor because he wanted to safeguard himself against any action by Nur Jahan's party. Nur Jahan adroitly seized this opportunity to inflame the Emperor against his son. Losing all hopes of justice, Shah Jahan broke out in open revolt. Being defeated near Delhi, he proceeded to the Deccan where he could not muster much support. As a result of large defections from his army Shah Jahan, being hotly pursued, marched through Golconda and Orissa into Bengal where he met with greater success. He marched along the river Ganges but was defeated near Allahabad. He again retreated into Bengal and finally came to the Deccan where Malik 'Ambar offered him assistance. He laid siege to Burhanpur, but he was defeated and sought pardon from his father. He was appointed governor of Balaghat and his two sons—Dara and Aurangzib—were kept as hostages.

Death of Jahangir

After his release from the guardianship of Mahabat Khan, the Emperor visited Kashmir on grounds of health. The ailing Emperor grew worse and died in the early morning of October 28, 1627. He was buried in a beautiful tomb on the bank of the Ravi near Lahore.



Mousoleum of Emperor Jahangir, Lahore (1630 A. D.)



Old Fort, Lahore, Western Main Entrance (17th Century)

During the first seventeen years of his reign, Jahangir himself recorded the events of his reign and only gave up writing his *Tuzuk* because of failing health. In his *Tuzuk*, Jahangir stands self-revealed as a sensible, kind hearted and generous ruler, a lover of landscape, flowers and birds, polished and amiable in society and remarkable for his humanity and open mind. It can be gleaned from his *Tuzuk* that he was simple and straight-forward both in personal and political dealings.

Jahangir's character

His aesthetic sense sometimes widened into a spirit of scientific curiosity. He traversed the mountain passes of Kashmir to enjoy the spring flowers and frequently recorded the names of the flowers, the birds and animals he saw. He planted a large number of gardens in his kingdom.

Love of art

His favourite art was painting and he is rightly called the *Prince of Artists*. Under Jahangir the Mughul school of painting achieved its highest form. He himself was a great connoisseur and critic and where several artists had worked together on one painting he could say which had done each part.

He wrote his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* which is a testimony of his literary talent.

Love of letters

CHAPTER XXVIII

SHAH JAHAN

Prince Khurram was born on January 5, 1592, at Lahore. In recognition of his services in the Deccan he was given the title of Shah Jahan. He was in Balaghat when his father died. He hastened to Lahore in response to a message from his father-in-law, Asaf Khan.

Accession

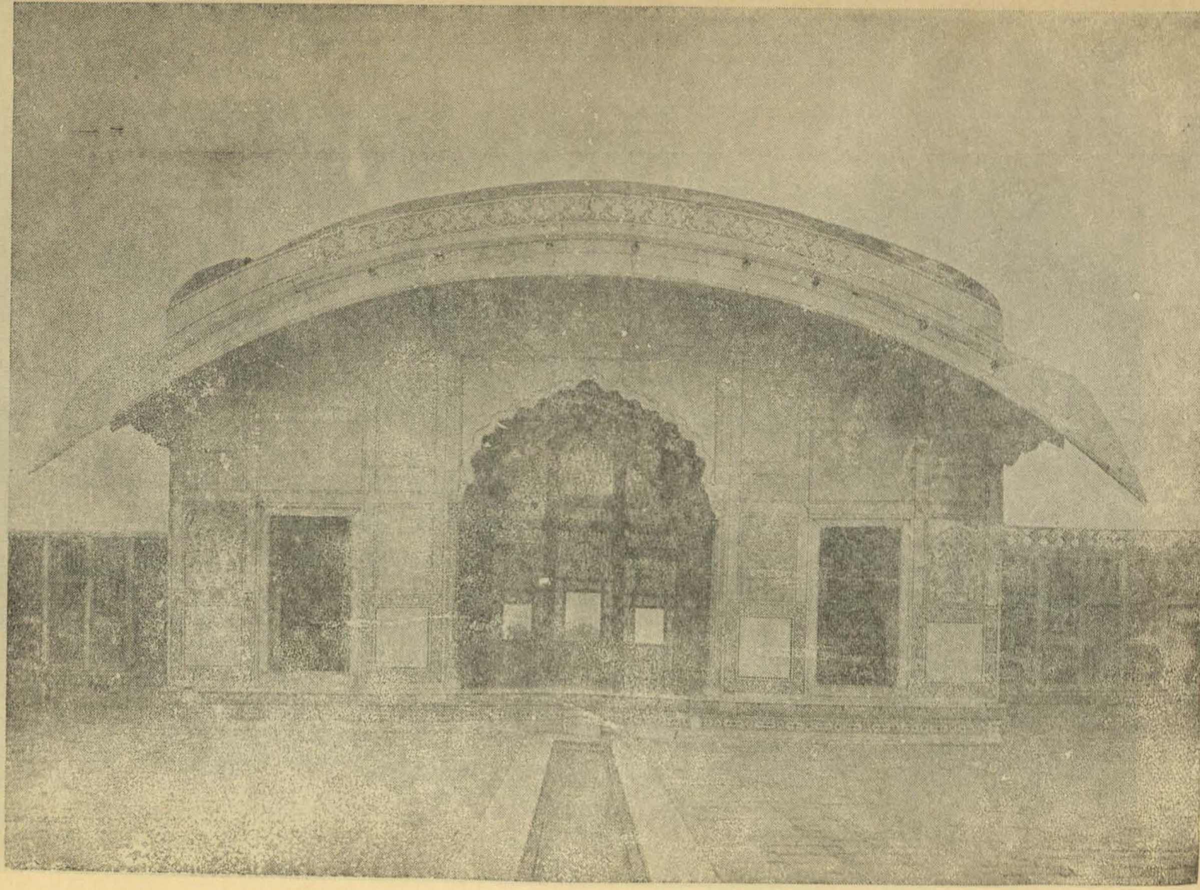
Shahryar, supported by Nur Jahan, had ascended the throne at Lahore. In the battle that followed Shahryar was defeated and taken prisoner. Shah Jahan now ascended the throne at Agra on the 4th February 1628, and assumed the title of Abul Muẓaffar Shihab-ud-din Muḥammad Shah Jahan Saḥib Qiran-i-thani.

Rebellions

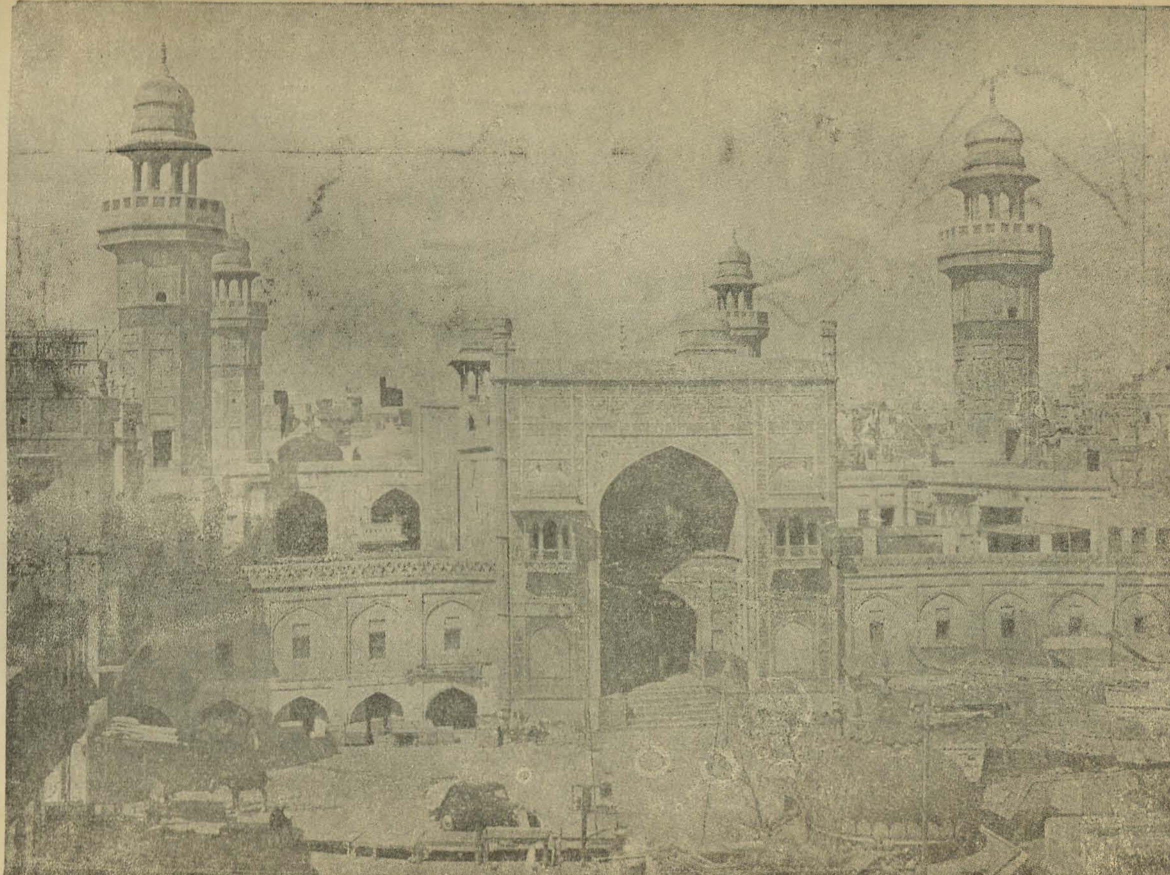
Soon after his accession Shah Jahan had to deal with two rebellions. Jujhar Singh, son of Bir Singh Deva Bundela, the assassin of Abul Faḍl, rose in revolt. When he left for Orchha and started strengthening the forts, raising forces and closing the roads, Mahabat Khan was sent against him. Reduced to submission, he again broke into rebellion. Prince Aurangzib proceeded against him and crushed the rebellion. Khan Jahan Lodi, a powerful noble in the reign of Jahangir was always opposed to Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan, on becoming Emperor, summoned him to the Court and won him over, but only for the time being. Disappointed at what he regarded as a cold reception at the Court and the supersession of his claims to the title of Khan Khanan, bestowed on Mahabat Khan, he broke into rebellion. Defeated in the vicinity of Dholpur, he escaped into the Bundela country and then into the Deccan. He was pursued, overtaken and killed.

Suppression of Portuguese piracy

Under the patronage of Akbar and Jahangir the Portuguese had established themselves at Hugli: they had built a number of fortified factories. They oppressed the people of the villages on either



Naulakha Pavilion, Old Fort, Lahore (1633 A D.)



Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore (1631 A.D.)

side of the river and grossly abused the concessions of trade granted to them. They levied impositions and carried on a lucrative slave trade 'which was accompanied by much cruelty and torture'. Their priests acted fanatically and resorted to force in making converts. They also offended Mumtaz Maḥal by detaining two of her slave girls. Above all, they actively assisted 'the *Farangis* of Chittagong who were little more than pirates, ready to lend their services to the king of Arakan against the Mughuls'. Their high-handedness at last drew upon them the punishment they deserved. In 1631 Qasim Khan was appointed governor of Bengal and entrusted with the destruction of their settlement at Hugli. The settlers were attacked and the siege lasted for over three months. To throw the Emperor off his guard, they offered him five lakhs of rupees. In the fight that followed they were completely routed. Their forts and factories were razed to the ground, nearly 10,000 of them were killed or drowned and about 4,400 were taken prisoner. The portuguese tyranny was over and about 10,000 victims were liberated from the prisons to which they had been confined.

Mumtaz Mahal

Born in 1594 and married to Khurram (Shah Jahan) in 1612, Mumtaz Maḥal, daughter of Aṣaf Khan, continued to exercise a healthy influence over her husband to the end of her life. Shah Jahan was enamoured of her as much for her physical beauty as for her intellectual attainments. Towards the close of Jahangir's reign when Khurram was in rebellion, she shared with him the privations of a fugitive life and proved to be a great source of strength and solace. At his accession, she was honoured with the title of *Malikah-i-Zaman* and entrusted with the custody of the imperial seal. Her advice was frequently sought and followed. She died at Burhanpur in 1631. Shah Jahan built a splendid mausoleum over her—the famous Taj Maḥal.

Central Asian Policy

Like his predecessors, Shah Jahan aspired to the sovereignty of Balkh and Badakhshan, the regions associated with the glory of his ancestors. Encouraged by the prosperity of his reign and the flattery of his friends, he began with Qandhar, a strategic point and an emporium on the trade route between Persia and Hind-Pakistan, which could be used effectively as a base of operations against Badakh and Badkhshan. 'Ali Mardan Khan, the governor of Qandhar, was won over and the imperialists, under the command of Sa'id Khan, the governor of Kabul, gained an easy victory over the Persians and acquired immense booty. 'Ali Mardan Khan was handsomely rewarded and enrolled as a *mansabdar*.

Balkh and Badakhshan

Nadhar Muhammad, the ruler of Bukhara was confronted with the rebellion of his son, 'Abdul 'Aziz. Availing himself of his opportunity, Shah Jahan despatched in June 1646 a huge army under the command of his son Murad, with whom was associated 'Ali Murad Khan who had an intimate knowledge of the country. Nadhar fled Persia; the city of Balkh was occupied almost unopposed. Prince Murad, who pined for the pleasures of the plains, returned and was replaced by Sa'dullah Khan who effected a satisfactory settlement. When Sa'dullah Khan was transferred to Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshan were bestowed on Aurangzib. In spite of his personal powers, which struck terror into the hearts of the Badakhshanis, he was not able to hold these places for long. Placing the city and fort of Balkh in the charge of Nadhar Muhammad's grandson, he returned. On his homeward march he was attacked by Hazaras. It was only with great difficulty that he reached home with his encourage.

Qandhar

Qandhar was coveted alike by the Shah of Persia and the Mughul Emperor; it frequently changed hands. Recovered by Shah Jahan in 1638 it

was lost by him in 1648 to Shah 'Abbas II. Aurangzib was recalled from Multan and ordered to proceed against Qandhar where the Mughul garrison had capitulated after a heroic struggle (1649). The imperial army, under the joint command of the Prince and Sa'dullah Khan, was repulsed after a siege of four months. Called back, the Prince was appointed to the supreme command and given two crores of rupees to finance the expedition. He was associated with Rustam Khan and Sa'dullah Khan. He besieged the fort in May, 1652, but the Persians defended it so bravely that the siege was raised after about two months. Aurangzib was called back and Dara Shukoh was appointed as governor of Kabul and entrusted with the conquest of Qandhar. The Prince advanced at the head of huge army and laid siege to the fort in November, 1652. His repeated attacks were repulsed. After seven months the third and last siege was also abandoned. The repeated reverses and the final retreat of the Mughuls established, on the one hand, the military prestige of Persia and demonstrated, on the other, the weakness of the Mughul army. Thereafter the ghost of Persian invasion began to haunt the minds of the rulers of Delhi.

The Deccan campaigns: Ahmadnagar

Shah Jahan inherited the Deccan problem. He felt it necessary to carry it to its logical conclusion because the Deccan had afforded refuge to the rebels against the Empire. The shelter and support received by Jujhar and Khan Jahan Lodi from the ruler of Aḥmadnagar precipitated the crisis. Malik 'Ambar's son, Fatḥ Khan had twice been imprisoned for his contumacious conduct. He was released at the request of the queen and appointed *wakil.* Fath Khan communicated with Shah Jahan, did away with his master and enthroned the young Ḥusain Shah with himself as regent. He had the *khuṭbah* read out in the name of Shah Jahan. Fatḥ Khan turned against the Mughuls and entered into an alliance with the Bijapuris.

He was, however, soon brought to his senses. The fortress was occupied and the boy-prince Niẓam Shah was confined in the fort of Gwalior.

Bijapur and Golconda

Aṣaf Khan was deputed to conduct the campaign against Bijapur, the ally of Aḥmadnagar. The city was besieged but the Bijapuris, with the aid of the Maratha light cavalry, put up a heroic defence and compelled the Mughul general to withdraw. Hostilities were renewed in 1636 when *farmans* were sent to the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda requiring them to acknowledge the suzerainty of Shah Jahan, to remit regular tribute to the imperial treasury and to abstain from interfering with the affairs of Aḥmadnagar and from helping Shahji. The ruler of Golconda agreed, but that of Bijapur declined. When troops were moved against him the Sultan sued for peace. The negotiations resulted in a treaty whereby 'Ali 'Adil Shah acknowledged the Emperor as his overlord, promised to respect the frontiers of Ahmadnagar and the integrity of Golconda and to abstain from helping Shahji. He received in return fifty *parganahs* out of the Niẓam-Shahi territories. The Deccan was pacified and the settlement thus effected lasted for about twenty years.

Prince Aurangzib in the Deccan

In 1636 Aurangzib was appointed Viceroy of the entire Mughul possessions in the south, and for eight years he was in charge of the government of the most troubled part of the Empire. There were many difficulties in his way but he met them with courage and determination and not only improved the administration but also added fresh territories to the Empire. It is surprising, however, that in spite of his meritorious services Aurangzib was removed from office in 1644. The main cause of the Emperor's displeasure was his undue partiality for Dara who had now become openly hostile towards his younger brother. After some time Shah Jahan pardoned Aurangzib and appointed

him governor of Gujrat. Two years later he was entrusted with the command of Mughul campaigns in Balkh. His ability and courage in supervising the operations of this difficult war and his tact in negotiating a successful peace greatly added to his reputation as a soldier and diplomat and made him a hero in the eyes of the Mughul army.

Second viceroyalty of the Deccan (1952-58)

In 1652 he was appointed for a second time to the governorship of the Deccan, and held the charge of that province till 1658 when he had to leave for the north.

When Aurangzib took charge of his new office he found the affairs of the Deccan in a state of confusion. Cultivation had suffered considerably, and neither the *jagirdars* nor the peasants were happy. The collection of revenue had become difficult and the government was faced with a serious financial crisis Shah Jahan, who was fully aware of this unhappy state of affairs warned Aurangzib that immediate steps should be taken to improve the administration. Accordingly he lost no time in setting about this difficult task and soon made drastic changes in the working of the various departments. His greatest concern was agriculture. Murshid Quli Khan, an officer of proved ability, was appointed *diwan*. He introduced a number of reforms and laid the foundation of a new system which will always form one of the most brilliant chapters of the history of land settlement in Hind-Pakistan. The peasants who had given up cultivation during the unsettled conditions of the previous years were rehabilitated and to help the poorer among them the State advanced *taqavi* loans. The result of these measures was that in the course of a few years there was marked improvement in the life of the peasantry and collection of the revenue.

In other departments also, particularly in the army, the vigorous policy of the new viceroy was equally successful. But in spite of his earnest endeavours to satisfy the Emperor it was not possible for Aurangzib to escape censure. In fact Dara

and his colleagues at the court had poisoned Shah Jahan's ears to such an extent that he would no longer put any trust in Aurangzib. In 1656 he was ordered to lead a punitive expedition against the ruler of Golconda who had not paid the stipulated tribute. He had also defined the Emperor's authority by refusing to release the family of Mir Jumlah, who had joined the imperial service. Aurangzib's forces entered the Sultan's territories in January 1656 and in less than two months they were able to besiege the powerful fort of Golconda. In the meantime the Sultan's agents had succeeded in influencing Dara who pleaded their cause with the Emperor, saying that the unfortunate Sultan was not given enough time to carry out his orders. The Emperor paid no heed to Aurangzib's recommendations and sent peremptory orders for the raising of the siege. The ruler of Golconda was granted peace on the payment of an indemnity and arrears of tribute, and the cession of one district to the Mughuls.

In the following year (1657) Aurangzib was forced to invade the kingdom of Bijapur. Sultan Muḥammad 'Adil Shah (1626-56) under whom this State had reached the highest stage of progress and power died in November 1656. The nobles raised to the throne, without the Emperor's approval, a youth of eighteen, who was given out as the son of the court of Bijapur that he sent immediate orders to Aurangzib to take action against it and also despatched a force of 20,000 to strengthen his army. As in Golconda, Aurangzib won brilliant victories over the enemy and captured important places like Bidar and Kaliani. But just when he was preparing to march on Bijapur he received orders to cease hostilities. The Emperor had again yielded to the persuasion of Dara and changed his mind at the last moment. But far more alarming was the news of the Emperor's illness which was received soon after this Aurangzib now had no option but to conclude peace with Bijapur and turn his attention to the

more important affairs at the Court. Thus it may be concluded that the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda would have become an accomplished fact in 1657 if Shah Jahan had followed a wiser course of action and supported Aurangzib. But it appears he had signally failed to realise that his indecision was involving the Mughul Government in difficulties which would ultimately shake the very foundations of the Empire. The long and tedious wars which Aurangzib had to fight for over a quarter of a century and which had disastrous effects on the efficiency of the Mughul administration were the direct if not the immediate result of his desire to please Dara, who was anxious to check the evergrowing reputation of his younger brother.

War of succession

Shah Jahan had four sons: Dara Shukoh, Shuja', Aurangzib and Murad. At the time of his illness (September, 1657) Dara held charge of Multan and Kabul but was present at the capital, Shuja' was in Bengal, Aurangzib in the Deccan and Murad in Gujrat. Calling together his courtiers, the Emperor nominated the eldest and most favourite of his sons (Dara) as his successor. The heir-designate took all possible steps to prevent the leakage of news from the court. Each of the other three Princes were well-equipped for war and there was nothing to prevent them from asserting their claims to the throne. Every Mughul prince knew that if he failed to seize the throne he would end his life either in a prison or on the scaffold. While Dara was strengthening his position at the Centre, Shuja and Murad crowned themselves in their respective provinces. As for Aurangzib, he kept quiet, but prepared himself to act at the ripe moment, not in his own interests but in the interests of Islam. Shuja' was the first to move. He reached Banaras on January, 24. Dara, who had made full preparations for the impending war, sent out a large army under the command of his eldest son, Sulaiman Shukoh. This army defeated Shuja'

at Bahadurgarh and drove him back to his base in Bengal (February, 1658). Murad had collected a large army. He and Aurangzib made common cause and marched towards the north. Dara had kept himself informed of the latest developments. He had already despatched Qasim Khan and Mirza Raja Jaisingh at the head of a large army to oppose the advance of Aurangzib and Murad. In the battle that was fought at Dharmat near Ujjain (April 15, 1658) the raja and his Rajput followers took to flight. The victorious princes pushed on, secured the passage of the Chambal and took up a position in the plain of Samugarh. Dara now took the field in person without waiting for the arrival of Sulaiman Shukoh. The two armies met at Samugarh (May, 1658) and displayed extraordinary valour. When in the thick of the fight Dara's elephant received a serious wound, he changed it for a horse. Finding the *haudah* empty, his followers took to their heels.. On June 8, 1658 Aurangzib entered Agra and wrote a petition to his father, explaining his position and justifying his stand. As a sequel to a conspiracy against him, Murad was apprehended and imprisoned at Gwalior, tried, condemned and executed 'with all the forms of law' on a charge of murder (December, 1661). After his defeat at Bahadurgarh, Shuja' collcted an army and made another bid for the throne. After his coronation (July 21, 1658) Aurangzib defeated him at Khajwah on January 5, 1659, and drove him from place to place till he took shelter in Arakan where he was killed by the Maghs in 1660. Dara secured the imperial treasures at Delhi and Lahore. He was however pursued and fled into Sind, from where he went to Aḥmadabad. The governor joined him and opened the royal treasury to him. Dara again raised an army and when he heard that Shuja' was marching against Aurangzib he made a dash for Agra. At Ajmer, however, he was defeated by Aurangzib who had in the meantime crushed Shuja'. Dara fled from the field returned to Aḥmadabad with his family. He was surrrendered by Malik Jiwan, the chief of Dadar, and

executed. Shah Jahan was permitted to live in the fort of Agra where he remained till his death in 1666. He was provided with all comforts and is said to have forgiven Aurangzib towards the end of his life. Of course he could not be given permission to leave the fort.

A period of 'extraordinary prosperity'

In spite of some serious rebellions, a fierce famine, a few foreign wars and a long drawn-out Deccan campaign, the reign of Shah Jahan (1627-58) was a period of 'extraordinary prosperity' when agriculture and industry, arts and literature, learning and education, trade and commerce made great strides under the patronage of the State.

Shah Jahan's character and achievement

Shah Jahan was kind and sympathetic, deeply religious and distinguished for devotion to duty. He was a distinguished general and a capable administrator. He was benevolent and paternal in his administration. He was an aesthetic prince. The Indo-Muslim architecture reached its climax of perfection in his reign and gave to the world some of the most beautiful buildings. Art and literature prospered under his benevolent patronage and the splendour of his Court has never been excelled.

CHAPTER XXIX

'ALAMGIR (I)

Aurangzib was born on October 24, 1619. Perhaps the most important incident of Aurangzib's boyhood was his fight with a mad elephant on the 22nd of May 1633, when his father was witnessing a combat of two elephants. In the course of the fight one of the beasts turned round and charged the fourteen years old Aurangzib who was standing by. Without showing the slightest alarm the prince, unlike the other spectators, struck to his position, and keeping his horse from turning back effectively hit the animal's forehead with his spear. The enraged brute repeated his charge, but in the meantime Prince Shuja' and others had come to Aurangzib's help. The elephant, however succeeded in throwing down the prince by hitting his horse with his long tusk, but Aurangzib immediately jumped up from the ground and attacked him with a drawn sword. The elephant ran away. Aurangzib's remarkable courage deeply touched the hearts of all those who were present. Shah Jahan embraced his son with feelings of joy and affection.

Early reforms and ordinances

Aurangzib was crowned Emperor on July 13, 1658 and assumed the title of 'Alamgir which had been conferred upon him by his father. As his opponents were still in the field he had to leave the capital almost immediately after a brief and hasty ceremony. A year later, however, he held his second coronation at Delhi which was celebrated on the 15th June 1659. Aurangzib's long reign of nearly half a century is one of the most important epochs of Hind-Pakistan history. Not only did the Mughul Empire reach the highest limit of its expansion and the height of its power, but Aurangzib also brought a new direction to the policy of the State.

Soon after his accession to power he directed his attention towards the need of eliminating certain un-Islamic trends which had found their way into the life of the people and the Court.

An honest and efficient *muhtasib*—Mulla 'Iwaḍ—was appointed to restrain Muslims from public violation of the *Shar'*. Aurangzib took effective steps to prevent local official from realising unlawfull cesses from the people.

Jizyah

It will not be out of place here to mention the imposition of the *jizyah* although it was enforced much later, in 1679. Much confusion has been created about this tax by modern writers. The simple fact is that the *jizyah* was a tax levied on the able-bodied non-Muslim citizens of a Muslim State in lieu of military service from which they were exempt. If a person served the State in a civil or military capacity he was not charged *jizyah*, nor any other person, who if he or she had been a Muslim, could not have been called upon to render military service. Akbar had, however, abolished this tax, simultaneously making all his subjects, irrespective of religion, liable to military service. Aurangzib considered this against Islam which cannot force military service on non-Muslims against their will and reimposed the *jizyah*. Its rate, however, was so low and its incidence so limited that it could, by no stretch of imagination, be considered a heavy burden on the tax-payer. According to a contemporary Hindu writer, Ishwar Das, "His Majesty issued an order that excepting servants of the State, other non-Muslims should pay at the following rate:—

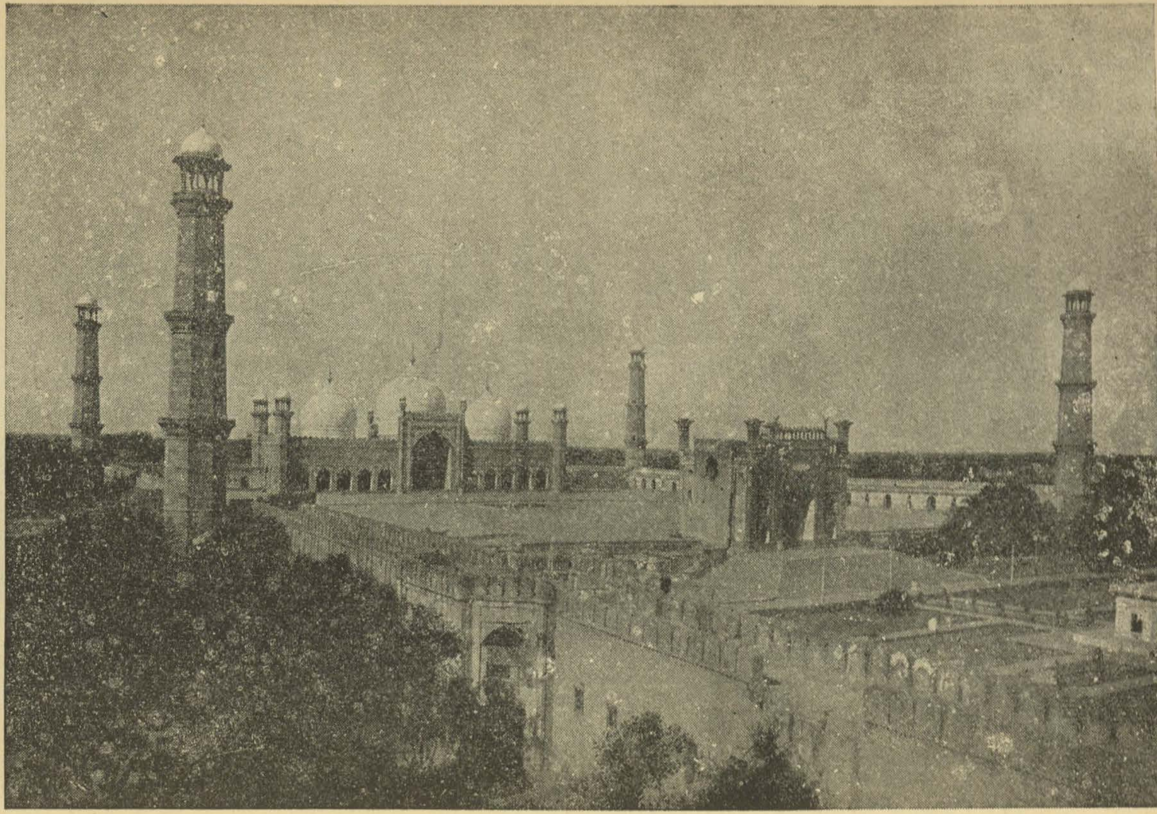
> From the rich having an income of Rs. 2,000/-, Rs. 13/- should be taken; from the middle class with an income of more than Rs. 52/- and leaving a margin above the cost of supporting himself, his family and children, Rs. 3/4/- should be taken".

It is to be noted that in the case of the poor only the savings were taxed. Besides, if a person paid *kharaj*, he was exempt from *jizyah*, which, at once, exempts the entire peasantry. Thus all servants of the State, all women and children, all disabled persons, the entire peasantry and all persons whose net savings did not reach Rs. 52/- per annum were exempt.

Conquest and annexation of Assam

When the War of Succession was being fought the rajas of Cooch-Behar and Assam had marched from the west and the east respectively into the Mughul territory and plundered it. The Emperor appointed Mir Jumlah to the governorship of Bengal with instructions to punish the unruly rajas. Accordingly Mir Jumlah left Dacca in November 1661 and marched into Cooch-Behar which was reconquered without much difficulty. In July 1662 he set out for Assam, and although his soldiers had to bear unspeakable hardships in the course of their march through dense jungles they were able to enter the enemy's territory and push him back along the course of the Brahmaputra, capturing many a fort on their victorious march. The fleet of the Ahoms was completely annihilated in a naval action and their capital was seized by the imperial army. Ultimately the raja was forced to beg for peace which was granted on his ceding a part of his territory and paying a war indemnity. For the conquest of Assam the Mughuls had to pay a heavy price; the aged Mir Jumlah whose genius was responsible for these brilliant victories could not stand the rigours and hardships of the campaign and died on the 10th of April, 1663, on his way back to Dacca.

Mir Jumlah's successor, Shaistah Khan, was commissioned to punish the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong. They were, to quote Bernier's words "Christians only in name; the lives led by them were most detesable". They used to seize unarmed persons and sell them as slaves. Shaistah Khan strengthened his fleet and launched a vigorous attack on these mischief-mongers. They were thoroughly beaten and more than a hundred of their boats captured. Chittagong was re-occupied and named Islamabad and thousands of the unfortunate prisoners who had been kept by the pirates as slaves were set free.



A Bird's eye-view of Badshahi Masjid, the Most Spacious Mosque in the East—Built by Emperor Auraugzib, Lahore (1673-74 A.C.)

In 1669 there was a local rising of the Jat peasants in a village of the Mathura district. It was suppressed but the *faujdar* of the district, 'Abd-un-Nabi, who was a "brave and generous man," was slain in the action. The rebel leader, Gokla, was subsequently captured by the new *faujdar*, Hasan 'Ali Khan. A more serious but equally localised revolt was that of the *Satnamis* of Narnol (1672). These people, popularly known as *mundyas* (or "shavelings"), because they shaved all the hair on their heads and faces, were mostly peasants. The cause of this revolt was a minor quarrel between a *Satnami* peasant and a foot soldier. The local officers were unable to control the situation because the number of the rebels, who were a well organised fraternity, grew unexpectedly. Moreover, rumour was spread that they knew magic. When the Emperor received a full report of these developments he sent a strong contingent under Ra'd Andaz Khan, giving him amulets (*ta'widh*) which were to be tied to the the flags to remove the dread of magic from the minds of the soldiers. The rebels offered obstinate resistance, but they could not stand for long the pressure of a regular force of trained soldiers.

Relations with the Hindus, Jats, and Satnamis

On the death of the Sikh Guru, Har Rai, in 1661, there arose a dispute over the question of succession and the matter was referred to Aurangzib who confirmed the election of Har Kishen. On Har Kishen's death in 1664 Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Gobind, became the Guru of the large majority of the Sikhs. In the beginning he joined the Mughul army and is stated to have taken part in the war in Assam. On his return he retired to the Punjab and began to aspire to sovereignty. He joined hands with a Muslim, named Hafiz-ud-din and supported by a body of armed mendicants, committed the most violent depredations on the peace-abiding inhabitants of the Punjab. Hence the Emperor issued order for the suppression of this campaign

The Sikhs

of lawlessness and the destruction of the Guru's agents and their strongholds. Tegh Bahadur was ultimately captured and brought to the Court, where he was executed as a rebel against the State.

Under Tegh Bahadur's son and successor, Guru Gobind, the Sikhs became openly rebellious. Guru Gobind started a series of raiding campaigns against the Hindu rajas of the Kashmir hills, some of whom appealed to the Emperor for help. He sent a force to protect the Hindu chiefs. The Sikhs were soon expelled from their main stronghold of Anandapur and ultimately compelled to beg for peace.

After Aurangzib's death Guru Gobind became a *mansabdar* in the Mughul army and accompanied the new Emperor, Bahadur Shah, to the Deccan. Here he was stabbed to death in 1708 by an Afghan whose father had been killed by him. He was the tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs.

The Rajput war

Some of the Rajput princes had been anxious, ever since their subjugation by the Mughuls, to regain their independence. Of the three of their leading States Jodhpur was the least reliable and its ruler, Jaswant Singh, had been guilty of treason on more than one occasion. It was, therefore, necessary to consolidate the authority of the Government in that part of the country and the Mughul policy towards the Rajputs was mainly guided by this consideration.

Jaswant Singh, the raja of Jodhpur, died at Jamrud in December 1678. As he had left no issue, Aurangzib, rightly anticipating trouble, went to Ajmer and conferred the *gaddi* on the late raja's grand-nephew, Indra Singh. In the meantime two of Jaswant's widows had given birth to two sons. The matter was reported in a petition to the Emperor, but as their legitimacy had yet to be confirmed he ordered them to be brought to Delhi saying that they would be given their ancestral *raj* on reaching

the age of discretion. Accordingly they were brought to Delhi by a chief, named Durgadas, who had hoped to be recognised regent and thus obtain power. He escaped to Jodhpur, expelled Indra Singh and occupied the place. The Rana of Udaipur soon joined hands with the rebels. Aurangzib realising the gravity of the situation went to Ajmer in order to supervise in person the operations of the punitive campaign which had now become essential. The immediate command of the campaign was entrusted to Prince Akbar. The war that followed was brief but it was fought with relentless severity. The Mughuls captured most of the big towns, but the enemy still remained unsubdued; unable to resist for long the pressure of superior forces he resorted to stratagem. A tempting offer was made to the youthful Prince that the Rajputs would acknowledge him as Emperor if he would raise the standard of revolt against his father. Akbar swallowed the bait and marched on Ajmer with an army of about 70,000 men. It was a critical moment for Aurangzib who had only 10,000 soldiers left with him. But firm as ever, he came out of the town and arranged his tiny forces for battle. Some loyal generals deserted Akbar and joined the Emperor. Finding Akbar of little use, his Rajput allies also left him after looting his camp. When Akbar woke up he found that he had been left only with a small band of about 350 men. Now there was no option for him but to take to flight, and he escaped to the Deccan where he hoped for Maratha support. In the meantime the Maharana of Udaipur begged for peace. Aurangzib forgave him on the cession of three *parganahs* and the payment of a war indemnity.

The Rathors continued desultory fighting from their hiding places for some time, while the towns and cities remained in the possession of the Mughuls. Ultimately Ajit Singh, losing all hopes of success, sought the Emperor's forgiveness which was granted in 1698. Durgadas was also pardoned.

North-west frontier policy

From the earliest times the tribesmen living in and around had been a source of trouble for the Governments on either side of their homeland. Brave, courageous, hardy, outspoken and freedom-loving as these people are, the inhospitable nature of their country has often forced them to take to raiding the neighbouring regions. Under Akbar the Mughuls had to fight a long and expensive war to keep control over these areas. Then followed an era of peace. In 1667, however, the Yusufzais living in Swat and Bajaur rose under the leadership of Bhagu who crossed the Indus and plundered the Hazara district. Other bands of the same clan attacked the Peshawar district, but they were defeated and expelled with heavy slaughter by Kamil Khan, *faujdar* of Attock. The imperial force now entered the heart of the Yusufzai territory and for some time their victories silenced the activities of the tribesmen.

In 1672 came the more formidable rising of the Afridis under the command of their capable leader, Ajmal Khan. The most important action was fought at 'Ali Masjid where the Mughul army under Amin Khan was completely routed. Although the commander-in-chief and some of the higher officers managed to escape, almost everything else was lost. About twenty thousand men and women were captured by the victors and the number of those who were killed was about ten thousand. After this victory the Afridis were joined by other tribes particularly the Khataks and ultimately their well-known leader Khushhal Khan became the leading spirit of the entire movement. He was a good poet and was, therefore, able to inspire his followers with enthusiasm through his poetical composition as much by his heroic deeds. After trying several generals none of whom was able to control the situation, the Emperor decided to supervise the operations personally. From Hasan Abdal which was selected as the seat of the Imperial headquarters contingents of

forces were sent into the interior of the tribal area. Under the capable supervision of the Emperor and the command of an experienced Turki general, Uighur, the Mughuls succeeded in recovering their lost positions and breaking the resistance. In 1677 Aurangzib appointed to the governorship of Kabul a capable officer, Amir Khan, who showed great tact in developing friendly relations with the tribesmen and thus restoring peace in that part of the country. The Khatak chief, Khushhal Khan, however, continued the war single-handed for some time. In the end he was captured by the Mughuls as a result of his betrayal by his own son.

CHAPTER XXX

'ALAMGIR (II)

Rise of the Marathas

Among the several chiefs who rose to prominence in the service of the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar was Shivaji's father, Shahji. Later he took service under Bijapur and held Poona and Supa as his *jagir*. Having fallen in love with a young girl of the Mohite family he completely neglected his first wife and her son, Shivaji, who were left in the charge of the manager of his *jagir*. Thus Shivaji grew into a rough and hardy mountaineer without the stamp of any cultural influence on his character. He succeeded in organizing his kinsmen into a strong and powerful predatory force whose efforts were directed at the uprooting of the existing order and political structure rather than the building up of a new State. No single factor contributed to the establishment of foreign rule in the sub-continent more than the activities of Shivaji and his successors. In the last decade of Mohammad 'Adil Shah's reign Bijapur was passing through its final stages of decline and disintegration. This gave Shivaji a favourable opportunity to develop his strength and resources. From the very outset he resorted to treachery and murder rather than open fighting as his favourite weapons. In 1657 on the eve of Aurangzib's campaign in Bijapur he offered his services to the Mughul and accepted the terms laid down by them. But when he saw that the Mughuls were busy fighting against Bijapur he violated the undertaking he had given and raided the Imperial territory. Aurangzib wanted to punish him for this act of treachery, but he came forward with abject submission and solemnly promised to remain loyal to the Empire. During Aurangzib's absence from the Deccan in connection with the War of Succession he again became active and in 1659 committed another treacherous murder. Afḍal Khan, who was sent by the Government of Bijapur to crush his rebellion, was persuaded to receive him in

a private interview and was treacherously stabbed to death. The Khan had agreed to this meeting with Shivaji, at his request that he should meet him near his residence, because the latter had promised him under oath that no harm would befall him.

In 1664 Shivaji raided Surat, subjecting its people to indescribable cruelties. An English writer of the Surat factory, who was an eye-witness of these atrocities, says "His (Shivaji's) desire of money is so great that he spares no barbarous cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whips them most cruelly, threatens death, and often executes it if they do not produce so much as he thinks they may or desires they should: at least cuts off one hand, sometimes both". The Imperial Government could not now remain inactive. Raja Jai Singh was accordingly directed to open a vigorous campaign against the Maratha freebooters. Within a few months their forts began to fall into the hands of the Mughuls, one after the other, and Shivaji was forced to come to the raja in all humility and beg forgiveness saying "I have come before you like a servant; spare me or punish me". The raja granted him peace on the condition that he would surrender twenty-three of his twenty-five forts and leave his son Shambhaji in his custody. He could go back to his *jagir* but would have to report whenever his services were required. Subsequently he was advised by Jai Singh to go to the Emperor's Court. He attended the court on May 12, 1666. The Emperor after accepting his *nadhr* allowed him to stand "side by side with distinguished courtiers and nobles", but after a short time he created a scene by throwing himself down on the ground. He was ordered to retire to his residence and forbidden attendance at the Court till the Emperor had ascertained from Jai Singh if he had given the Maratha chief any specific promises on behalf of the Government. Jai Singh replied that no promise had been given beyond a general assurance that Shivaji would be re-

commended for considerate treatment. On reaching the Deccan, Shivaji apologized to Jaswant Singh, who now held charge of the southern provinces jointly with Prince Mu'azzam, saying that although he had escaped from the court in fear, he would give an assurance of his loyalty to the Emperor and send his son, Shambhaji, to the court of the Prince. On Jaswant's recommendations he was pardoned by the Emperor, but three years later he reopened hostilities and plundered Surat for a second time (1670).

In 1674, he had himself crowned as raja. Three years later, on a solemn promise of sharing the spoils with the Sultan, Shivaji obtained money from Golconda for raiding Carnatic.

Shivaji died in April, 1680. His contemporaries speak of him as a bandit and a marauder and do not conceal their contempt for his activities. This is not untrue, for the most consuming passion of his life was loot, and in looting the people he made no distinction between his co-religionists and others. Later writers have tried to idolize him as a national leader who wanted to deliver the Hindus from the rule of the Mughuls. This is not supported by the facts. He started life as a brigand, and owing to a state of confusion and disorder prevailing in Bijapur he was able to seize a number of hill fortresses and the surrounding lands. With the growth of power and resources his ambitions also grew and every year he planned new raids with the object of plundering peaceful inhabitants. In carrying out these raids he frequently employed the weapons of murder, treachery and fraud without any scruples.

On his return from the Mughul court at Agra he seems to have conceived the idea of setting up a small State of his own which he called his *Swarajya.* But even this did not stop him from continuing his old profession of brigandage. A Maratha historian justifies this view in these words, "The Maratha forces should feed themselves at the expense of foreign countries for

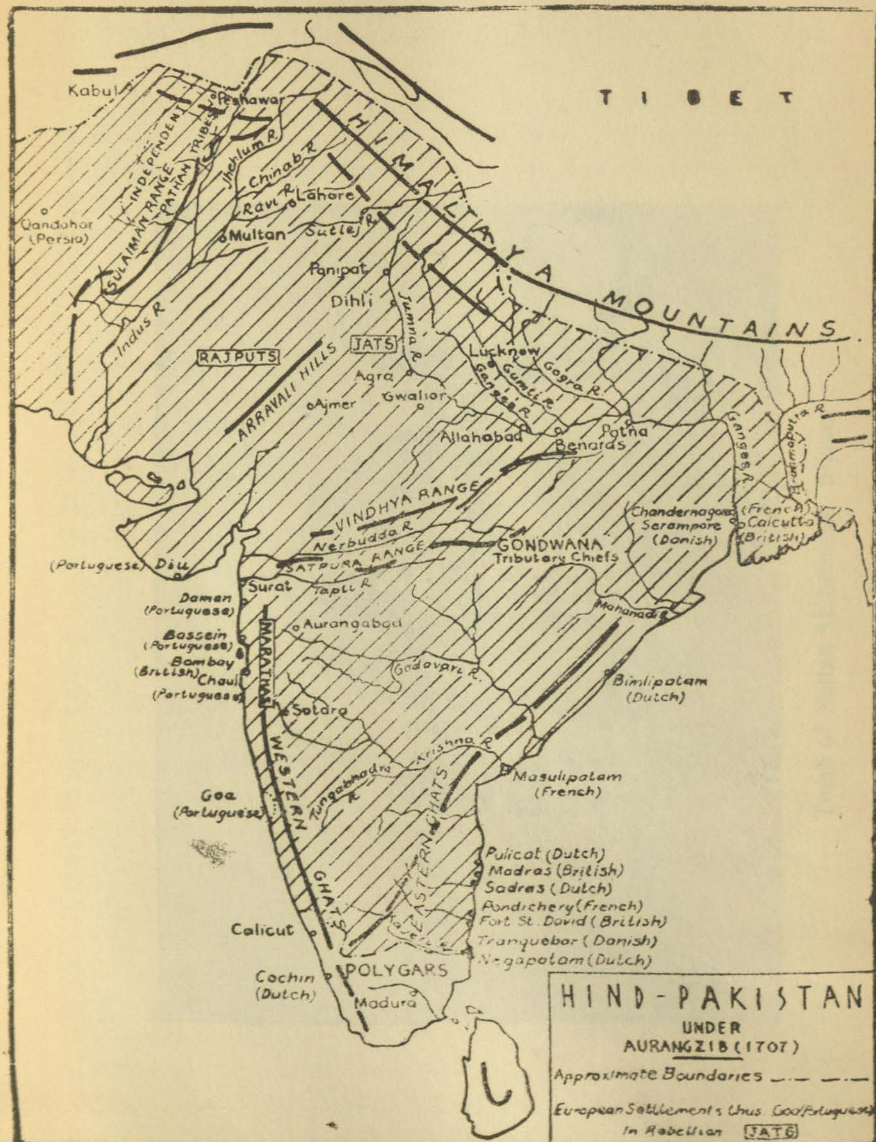
eight months every year, and levy blackmail." Thus the tradition that he left with his followers was to kill and destroy and not to build and preserve. His administration in the territory of the *Swarajya* was a clumsy imitation of the Mughul system of government, with slight alterations here and there. Most of the designations and functions of the State officials were borrowed from the Mughuls.

'Alamgir's war against the Marathas

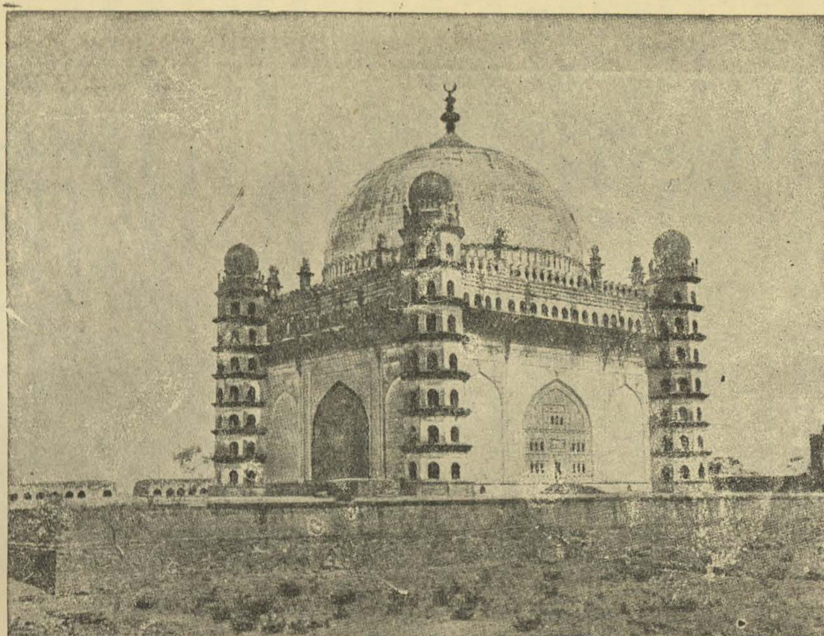
Since Aurangzib's departure in 1658, the situation in the Deccan had greatly deteriorated. Bijapur and Golconda had become thoroughly demoralised and the Maratha raids had made life insecure. On arriving at the spot Aurangzib soon realised that it was absolutely necessary to conquer the two Sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda, because they had all along been in collusion with Shambhaji, the son and successor of Shivaji. The Emperor's repeated warnings had no effect and ultimately he was forced to take a decisive step.

Since Abul Ḥasan's accession to the throne Golconda had been pursuing a policy of open hostility towards the Mughuls. Madanna, the Brahmin minister of the Sultan, had entered into a secret alliance with Shivaji in 1677 and agreed to pay an annual tribute of one lakh *hun*. Bijapur also followed an anti-Mughul policy and instead of joining hands with the Emperor against the common foe she was found to be helping the Marathas secretly. The Sultans had in any case grown so weak that it was no longer possible to bolster them up, and their impotence added to the prevailing anarchy in which the Marathas thrived. Under these circumstances Aurangzib had no choice but to fight with them. The war began with a campaign against Bijapur. When the Mughul forces were busy in pressing the siege of its capital the ruler of the neighbouring State of Golconda sent a confidential letter to his envoy in the Imperial camp which said, "believing that Sikandar was weak and an orphan, he (Aurangzib) has laid siege to Bijapur and driven him into a corner. It is time

that Raja Shambha, with his innumerable men, should come to the succour of Bijapur from one side and I would despatch Khalilullah Khan with forty thousand men from the other side. Then I shall see which side he (Aurangzib) would attend to". This letter fell into the hands of Aurangzib who was now convinced that corruption and treachery were rampant in the courts of the Deccan Sultans. In Golconda the rule of Madanna had become intolerable. Abul Hasan was an easy-going youth, given to a life of pleasure and comfort, and the entire administration was in the hands of the Hindu minister. Even Khafi Khan who is generally hostile in criticising Aurangzib's policy says: "Intelligence was brought to His Majesty that through Abul Hasan's disgusting conduct in giving over the administration to Madanna and Akanna, the two revengeful infidels, the Mussalmans were tyrannised and drinking and lewdness were openly indulged in. Besides, he had made himself obnoxious by giving help to Shambhaji in his depradations and had offered him one lakh *hun* in cash". It would clearly have been an act of folly on the part of Aurangzib to have permitted Bijapur, Golconda and Shambhaji to form an alliance and offer united resistance to the Mughuls. Therefore, anticipating the movements of his enemies, he declared war on Golconda and ordered his forces to march on its capital. Abul Hasan, unable to resist the attack of the Imperial forces, shut himself up in the fort of Golconda. From here he begged for peace which was granted on the condition that he paid a war indemnity. But he failed to take this opportunity. He not only evaded payment of the sum stipulated, but further provoked the Emperor by sending a subsidy to Shambhaji. Evidently such an act of treachery could not be condoned and the Emperor had to resume operations. Golconda was captured and its decrepit ruler, Abul Hasan, was allowed to live as a pensioner in the fortress of Daulatabad.



TIBET
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
Kabul
Peshawar
INDEPENDENT PATHAN TRIBES
SULAIMAN RANGE
Jhelum R.
Chinab R.
Ravi R.
Lahore
Qandahar (Persia)
Multan
Sutlej R.
Panipat
Dihli
Indus R.
Jumna R.
RAJPUTS
JATS
ARRAVALI HILLS
Lucknow
Gumti R.
Ganges R.
Gogra R.
Agra
Gwalior
Ajmer
Allahabad
Benaras
Patna
Ganges R.
VINDHYA RANGE
Nerbudda R.
SATPURA RANGE
GONDWANA
Tributary Chiefs
Chandernagore (French)
Serampore (Danish)
Calcutta (British)
(Portuguese) Diu
Surat
Tapti R.
Daman (Portuguese)
Bassein (Portuguese)
Bombay (British)
Chaul (Portuguese)
MARATHAS
Aurangabad
Mahanadi
Godavari R.
Bimlipatam (Dutch)
Satara
Krishna R.
Masulipatam (French)
Tungabhadra R.
WESTERN GHATS
EASTERN GHATS
Goa (Portuguese)
Pulicat (Dutch)
Madras (British)
Sadras (Dutch)
Pondichery (French)
Fort St. David (British)
Tranquebar (Danish)
Negapatam (Dutch)
Calicut
Cochin (Dutch)
POLYGARS
Madura
HIND-PAKISTAN
UNDER
AURANGZIB (1707)
Approximate Boundaries
European Settlements thus Goa (Portuguese)
In Rebellion JATS



Tomb of Sultan Muhammad, Bijapur

Bijapur

Bijapur's case was not dissimilar to that of Golconda. In fact the twin States of the Deccan had followed more or less the same policy in their dealings with the Mughuls. Sikandar 'Adil Shah was asked by the Emperor to cooperate with him in uprooting the power of the Marathas. Bijapur, however, adopted delaying tactics and continued to conspire with Shivaji against the Emperor. Aurangzib therefore decided to bring to an end this state of affairs once for all. In 1685 Prince A'zam was ordered to move his forces and the Emperor followed him up with the main army in the following year. The Bijapuris, unable to resist the pressure of a full-fledged campaign, surrendered on September 12, 1686. Sikandar was received by Aurangzib with great courtesy and allowed to stay in Daulatabad. Subsequently he was recalled to the Imperial camp and remained there till his death in 1700.

The conquests of Bijapur and Golconda had come as an interlude in the long war against the Marathas. Not long after the fall of the two States the Mughul forces which had already taken a number of fortresses belonging to the Marathas captured their leader, the imbecile Shambhaji. On being brought to the Imperial camp he was un-repentent and abusive, hence he was executed. His half-brother, Raja Ram, was declared raja at Raigarh, but that fort was soon conquered by the Mughuls. Raja Ram took shelter in the fort of Jinji. The siege of this strongly defended fort lasted several years. In spite of these difficulties and the unreliable conduct of some of the greatest of his officers, Aurangzib, at the cost of much personal hardship, pushed on with the campaign. Even at the age of eighty he was supervising the operations in person with such energy and courage as would have done honour to a young general. Twice Raja Ram tried to negotiate but the Emperor would not agree to anything short of unconditional surrender. In the meantime fort after fort was falling into the hands of the Mughuls.

Raja Ram's death in 1700 further weakened the Marathas and within the next five years a number of their remaining strongholds such as Satara, Raigarh and Torna passed out of their control. By 1705 Aurangzib had nearly completed the task of liquidating the Maratha power. His incessant activity at last told upon his health, and he fell ill. He retired to Ahmadnagar (January 1706) and remained there till his death on 20th February 1707.

'Alamgir and the Europeans: Punishment of the English

In 1686 the English merchants involved themselves in trouble by burning the town of Hugli. Shaista Khan took peremptory steps to crush these "disturbers of peace", and ultimately the English were forced to withdraw from Bengal altogether (February 1689). In the following year the Emperor pardoned them and allowed their agent, Job Charnock, to settle at a place which later on became the nucleus of the city of Calcutta (September 1890).

Similarly on the western coast the President of the East India Company foolishly picked up a quarrel with the Mughuls by withdrawing from Surat to Bombay and seizing the Mughul ships at sea. The Mughul officers, however, lost no time in arresting all the Englishmen in Surat and instructing Sidi of Janjira to attack the island of Bombay by sea. Accordingly, he landed his forces there, captured the outlaying parts of the island and besieged the English garrison in their fortress. Soon after, the impetuous President, Sir Josia Child, was forced to make an abject submission. Aurangzib, as usual, showed consideration to the fallen enemy and issued a *farman* of pardon in favour of the English. They were ordered to pay an indemnity and allowed to resume their trade in the Mughul Empire.

Aurangzib's character and policy

Judged by the purity of character and sublimity of his ideals no ruler of Hind-Pakistan can claim comparison with Aurangzib. The simple and pious habits of Aurangzib shine forth as a pleasant contrast to the luxury of his environment

His courage and perseverance were remarkable. During his campaign in Badakhshan he dismounted from his horse in the middle of a battle to say his prayers. His enemy was so deeply impressed by his courageous act that he gave up the struggle and withdrew. To these qualities were added a brilliant intellect, a strong sense of duty and regularity in habits. He was exceedingly industrious and took all possible pains in supervising every department of administration. Aurangzib hated tyranny and took effective steps to ensure justice for the poorest of his subjects.

Aurangzib earned distinction not only for his saintly qualities of piety and simplicity and for his deeds of courage and bravery, but also as a great scholar and a powerful writer. He was learned in Islamic theology and jurisprudence. He was specially interested in the works of Imam Ghazzali. He was equally well versed in the secular sciences. He knew Arabic, Persian, Turki and Hindi, but it was in Persian that he wrote his many letters, some of which are available even today in various collections. They are models of a direct, simple and beautiful style, free from all verbosity, yet of great literary merit. The French traveller, Bernier, was not wrong when he wrote that "this Prince (Aurangzib) is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman and a great king".

Aurangzib has been criticised by some non-Muslim writers for his alleged intolerance of Hinduism. This is not borne out by the facts. He himself clearly stated his policy in many letters in which he refused to discriminate against public servants because of their religion. So long as a person was loyal to the State he had nothing to fear from the monarch. It is true that he ordered the demolition of certain temples, but his attitude in this matter is clear from his famous *Banaras Farman* in which he ordered the demolition of only such temples as had been built in an unauthorised manner. He endowed a number of

Hindu temples and places of worship with grants of land and issued strict orders that places of worship which had not been constructed in an unauthorised manner should not be desecrated. It is true that he made an effort to reform the Muslims and to give an Islamic character to the State. This was necessary if the Empire was to be saved. It is an elementary principle of politics that a State can endure only with the active support of the people or, at least, of a section of the people. Akbar's policy had made the Muslims indifferent but had not succeeded in completely enlisting the support of the Hindus. A few Hindu nobles, it is true, put their services at the disposal of the State but there was a current of Hindu resistance present all the time. Rana Partap was more representative of the Hindu spirit than Raja Man Singh. The laxity in religious beliefs which had existed before the rise of Ḥaḍrat Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani had undermined the morale of the Muslim people. It was necessary to invigorate them and to give them a sense of responsibility. But this would have been impossible without restoring the institutions of Islam. Aurangzib had, therefore, to re-impose the *jizyah*. His measures against the Sikhs and the Rajputs were not dictated by religious considerations but were the outcome of political necessity. Just as he had to suppress the Muslim tribesmen of the north-west, he could not tolerate the contumacy of his non-Muslim subjects or the spread of anarchy in the Deccan brought about by the rise of the Marathas. It was not Aurangzib who was responsible for the decay and downfall of the Mughul Empire. The Empire under Akbar's policy had become nobody's business, except that of the Emperor. Such a structure was bound to fall at the first political storm that it had to face. That storm came in the days of Aurangzib. His great energy and ability averted the disaster so long as his genius was there to serve the cause of Islam in Hind-Pakistan. Under his weak successors all his great work was undone. Aurangzib was truly of the stuff of which martyrs are made. He kept up the fight for his cause

almost to the last day of his life. With an iron will he permitted neither old age nor disease to stand between him and his mission, and he retired only when he realised that the end of his long journey had come to give him eternal rest.

THE MUGHUL ADMINISTRATION

The monarch

The Islamic theory of sovereignty has been already discussed in connection with the Sultanate. While discussing sovereignty some later Muslim writers, however, introduced certain foreign elements into their writings. Of these Abul Faḍl was one 'Sovereignty', according to Abul Faḍl, 'is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun'. It is communicated direct by God to kings without intermediate assistance of any one. Akbar, influenced by this philosophy, said in one of his discussions: "We, by virtue of our being the shadow of God, receive little and give much". The idea of the sovereign being the shadow of God is also non-Muslim in origin and found currency, in spite of the frequent protests of Muslim jurists, through writers like Abul Faḍl. Such writers had strayed so far from Islamic ideas that to them "kingship was a gift of God and was not bestowed till many thousand good qualities had been gathered together in an individual". Abul Faḍl went to the extent of saying that the true monarch was best qualified to be the spiritual guide of his people. Such glorification of the monarch is essentially based on a dread of anarchy. Babur, Humayun, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, however, regarded themselves, at least in theory, as Muslim monarchs. Aurangzib did not permit himself any deviation from the Muslim Law. Neither did Akbar bring about any change in the Law. The *Mohdar* only stated the position as recognised by the *Shar'*. Its only fallacy was that it recognised in Akbar a Muslim monarch capable of understanding the niceties of Muslim Law. The whole Mughul history shows that the position of the monarch was exalted but not his person. If the monarch possessed requisite qualities for the fulfilment of his task, the position of the monarch became secure.

The Mughul Government, therefore, had of necessity to be for the common weal. The Mughul sovereigns felt the necessity

of regulating their own lives in accordance with public needs. Babur and Humayun devoted most of their time to State business. Akbar set down an exacting routine for himself and followed it with such regularity that it became a tradition in his dynasty. He retired late at night after finishing all State business. Jahangir and Shah Jahan gave considerable attention to every sphere of State activity. In Aurangzib's time the slightest slackness in administration was brought to his notice and he issued peremptory orders. Babur and Humayun gave frequent public audiences. Akbar appeared at *jharoka* and gave *darshan* to his people where huge crowds assembled. Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued the practice. The Emperors heard the complaints of the aggrieved on these occasions. They also held a full *durbar* in the afternoon in what is called the *Diwan-i-Khas-o-'Am.* The practice was continued in the reigns of the later Mughul Emperors. 'Fresh appointments were made in this *durbar* and increments granted to officers and *jagirs* were conferred'. Ambassadors and visitors of high rank were received at first in the public *durbar* and were afterwards admitted to private audience. It is apparent from contemporary records that the Mughul Emperors devoted personal attention to State business. The Empire decayed only when the rulers gave up attending to their work.

The monarch's orders were usually issued through *farmans.* The procedure in drafting the *farmans* was very elaborate. Complete records were kept and special attention was paid to their authenticity. If a *farman* involved the grant of cash or *jagir* care was taken to see that it was passed on to the person for whom it was meant. There were five kinds of seals which were used for different purposes. One seal was used for titles, high appointments, *jagirs* and sanctions of large amounts. Another was used for letters to foreign kings. The third was used for judicial transactions. The fourth was used for all matters

connected with departments of the palace; and the fifth seal was used for all other matters. The most important seal was the *uzuk* seal and it was entrusted to the most dependable person. Some Emperors used to keep the seal with their Queens. In important *farmans* the mark of the royal hand—*panja-i-mubarak*—was put at the bottom.

The ministers

Theoretically the sovereign's deputy was the *vakil-us-saltanat.* His authority, however, depended on the position of the monarch. If the Emperor was a minor, as Akbar was on his accession, or incapable, he wielded great authority. If the monarch exercised authority himself, the office became purely ornamental. The chief minister was the *diwan*, who corresponded to the *wazir* of the Sultans. He was responsible for finance, and also exercised general supervision over the administration.

'Allami Sa'dullah Khan, the talented *diwan* of Shah Jahan, used to sleep only for four hours. According to him, 'loyalty to the salt is an approved principle, but in matters of the master, which concern the people, loyalty consists of having regard for the latter.'

The *diwan* was assisted by several officers of ministerial rank. The *diwan-i-khalisah* who looked after the imperial income from lands which had not been assigned, the *diwan-i-tan* who was responsible for the payment of slaries and the assignment of *jagirs*, the *mushrif-i-mumalik*, who was accountant general and the *mustaufi-i-mumalik* who was the auditor general.

The State departments

The Mughul Emperors had usually four main ministers at the centre:

(1) *Diwan*,
(2) *Mir Bakhshi*,
(3) *Mir Saman*, and
(4) *Sadr*.

The *diwan* was in charge of the revenue and financial matters and his duties have already been discussed.

The *mir-bakhshi* was, in fact, the head of the military department. He dealt with all the departmental work connected with the army. His department had general supervision over the army and its movements. The *mir-bakhshi* had a number of assistants.

Mir-saman's department was that of the Director General of Supplies and Industries. *Mir-saman* was later called *khan-saman.* His department was responsible for supplying all the requirements of the State and the palace in animals, raw materials and manufactured articles. For this purpose he had a number of *karkhanahs* under him, in some of which large number of artisans were employed and many useful articles manufactured. These factories set up a standard of excellence for the rest of the country. These *karkhanahs* were of course, a legacy from the Sultanate.

The *Sadr-us-sudur* was in charge of religious affairs and dealt with the grants for a religious or benevolent purposes. He also acted as the *chief qaẓi.* This department was organised in the same way as under the Sultanate.

Revenue administration

The Mughul Emperors organised the administration of the revenue in accordance with the indigenous needs. At the head of the administration was the diwan or the Finance Minister. Capable men from all walks of life were selected to run the administration. Akbar appointed Raja Todarmal as his Finance Minister. Todarmal ordered the survey of land belonging to the State and introduced measures for the benefit of the cultivators.

The Empire was divided into provinces, each province, into *sarkars* (districts), each *sarkar* into *parganahs* and each *parganah* into villages or *mauẓas.* The *patwaris* kept a

record of revenue in the *mauḍas.* There were also *muqaddams* to help the *patwaris.* Each *parganah* had a *qanungo*, who used to advise tenants as well as others in respect of the realisation of revenue. Each *parganah* had an *'amil* or a collector of revenue. His subordinate staff was essentially the same as under the Sultans. There was one main difference: there was only one *karkun*, now called *bitikçhi*, who kept the accounts in Persian alone. The *'amils* worked under the provincial *diwan* and work of the provincial *diwans* was supervised by the *Imperial diwan* at the capital. The Mughul Emperors kept a vigilant eye on the collection of revenue and gave protection to the tenants against harsh collectors of revenue. Cases have been recorded in the time of Shah Jahan of district collectors of revenue being punished for realising more than the annual dues. Akbar introduced the *dabti* system, in accordance with which the average yield per unit of area was calcualated on the basis of the previous ten years. A third of this average was the State demand which was realised in cash. The other methods of assessment which were in use under the Sultans were not discarded though the *dabti* system was encouraged.

Judicial system

By the time the Mughuls had established their sway, the people of the sub-continent had become aware of the fundamentals of the Muslim judicial system. The *Shar'* or the Muslim Law was held supreme by both the king and the subjects. The organisation of the judicial system of the Mughul was entirely the same as that laid down by the Muslim jurists and established in northern India by the Sultans of Delhi. A body of the learned made a recommendation for the appointment of a *qaḍi* after making detailed enquiries about his personal character. Candidature by persons for the post of judges was not encouraged. Some of the Mughul Emperors, like Aurangzib, paid particular attention to the selection of *qaḍis* as they thought

that the stability of the State depended upon a good judiciary. Jahangir regarded the administration of justice as his most essential duty. Shah Jahan considered justice to be the very foundation of government while Aurangzib said that—'The garden of administration is watered by the rain of justice'.

The normal judicial work at the capital was done by the Court of the Chief Justice of the Empire (*Qaḍi-ul-Quḍat*). He was assisted by a number of *qaḍis* and in the actual decision of cases the State employed *muftis* who were '*ulama* learned in Muslim Law to advise the *qaḍis* on the application of law to cases. Such procedure was adopted in deciding cases as led to speedy administration of justice. The Mughul Emperors believed in the maxim: 'Justice delayed is justice denied.'

The duties of the chief justice of the Empire included, among others, the supervision over all provincial *qaḍis*. The chief justice were usually men of exceptional characters and they were also entrusted with the duty of leading the *Jum'ah* prayers in the capital. The courts of *mazalim* and *siyasat* were presided over by the Emperor who was advised by learned lawyers.

Provincial government

The Mughul Empire was divided into several provinces (*subahs*). At the head of the provincial administration was the governor (*subahdar*). The *subahdar*, like the Emperor at the Centre, possessed powers to decide cases under *mazalim*. He did not have the right of inflicting capital punishment. Whenever he heard cases of *mazalim*, he had the assistance of *muftis* and also the judges of the provincial high court. The governor was also the provincial commander-in-chief or *sipah salar*. He was responsible to the Emperor for the efficient administration, defence, criminal justice and general welfare of the people within his charge. He could be dismissed only by the Emperor. He had a number of ministers to assist him in controlling the various departments which corresponded to the departments at the Centre.

Working of the administrative machinery

The efficiency of the Mughul system of administration depended upon the attention paid to the administration by the rulers themselves. It seems that the Mughul dynasty was fortunate in having a series of efficient and capable rulers. As mentioned by an English historian, the Mughul Government was monarchy in its most engaging form. The succession of brilliant and efficient rulers gave the country an efficient administration for nearly two centuries. The Mughul Emperors were not only rulers but also leaders of men. They kept themselves informed of all administrative details through *waqai'nawisan* (news recorders) in all places. They organised a very efficient system of communications and postal services. A letter despatched from Delhi could reach Hyderabad (Deccan) in eight days. Even now it takes about five days by rail. They frequently changed the heads of administrations. The provincial governors as well as the district officers were not allowed to stay in a particular place for more than two or three years. There were regular tours, of inspection by the superior officers and the Emperor himself. People were allowed to file their complaints in an open court and they were heard.

The Army and the Services

In the eleventh year of his reign, Akbar introduced the *mansabdari* system under which public services were organised into a single cadre. In the words of Abul Faḍl, by this regulation 'the number of attendants for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that every one should keep some persons in readiness for service'. The purpose of the regulation, therefore, was to keep a number of men in readiness for military service under the command of the imperial officers. The number of soldiers which an officer was expected to maintain was fixed. In accordance with this system all officers were assigned a rank which determined their position. Akbar laid down sixty-six

theoretical ranks ranging from a commander of ten to a commander of five thousand. Later on the ranks were increased and we have read how Shah Jahan was given by Jahangir the unprecedented rank of thirty thousand. The personal rank did not denote the number of soldiers commanded by the officer concerned. This was denoted by an additional *sawar* rank. The *sawar* rank was further sub-divided in accordance with the number of *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah* troopers in the contingent commanded. The number of troopers commanded were only a portion of the *sawar* rank conferred, for instance, if a *mansabdar* was serving in some distant province and had a rank of 5,000 *dhat* (personal) and 5,000 *sawars*, he would command only 1,000 soldiers. The *dhat* rank was purely personal and had no reference to the number of soldiers commanded.

The soldiers were divided into two classes: those who were directly recruited and those who were recruited by the *mansabdars*. All of them, however, were commanded by the *mansabdars*. They were further sub-divided into *yak-aspah*, *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah* depending upon the number of horses which they possessed. In addition there were foot-soldiers.

The Mughuls also had an artillery which was called *atishkhanah*. The infantry-men were armed with swords, bows and arrows and a section of them with muskets. The cavalry-men carried a sword, a bow, arrows and a lance and the soldier and the mount alike were protected with armour.

In theory civil servants also belonged to the *mansabdari* system though they did not command any soldier. Sometimes a *sawar* rank was conferred to promote a civil servant without the corresponding duty of maintaining troopers.

The total number of *mansabs* under Akbar (1590) was 1,658, in the time of Jahangir 2,069, and 8,000 under Shah Jahan and 11,456 under Aurangzib (1,690). The increase was due to the

expansion of the Mughul Empire as well as to the inclusion of several classes of State servants among the *mansabdars.*

All *mansabdars* were directly recruited by the Emperor, sometimes on the recommendations of leaders of military expeditions, governors of provinces and high court officials; and most of the appointments were made in the lower grade. Various sorts of honours were conferred on public servants, titles, robes of honour, cash gifts, swords and daggers, kettle-drums, etc. A great honour was the permission to fly one's own flag and the highest honour was the use of the *mahimaratib* and it was conferred only on holders of *mansab* of 6,000 or above.

The salary usually was paid in cash but sometimes *jagirs* were allotted. The *jagirdars* simply got the right of collecting land revenue from the cultivators according to the State assessment. The State saw that a *jagirdar* realised no more than the permitted dues. The *jagirdars* were not the farmers of revenue and they did not replace all governmental authority in the *jagir.* All other agents of the Imperial Government remained stationed as usual and even exercised executive authority, except when a *jagirdar* was appointed to hold a particular executive office as well. A *jagirdar* acquired the right of adjudicating disputes about the land when brought to him. A *jagirdar* was usually worse off than a *mansabdar* who received his salary in cash and who had no cost of collection to pay. *Jagirs* were neither hereditary nor permanent, and could be assigned in different provinces.

As soon as a *mansabdar* died, it was the duty of *diwan-i-buyutat* or his representative to take charge of the dead man's property. This was done to enable the State to secure the payment of whatever the deceased might owe to the State. The State made itself responsible for the education and up-bringing of the dead man's children. Whatever was left after the payment of State debts was given to his heirs. Pensions were sometimes given.

The *jagir* system bore a slight resemblance to the feudal system in Europe but the likeness was mainly superficial. The *mansabdars* had no right to the land. They only had a claim on the State to the extent of their salary, which the State made good by assigning revenue in the form of *jagirs*. There was no hereditary nobility with a hereditary title to land ownership. The Mughul *mansabdar* was a public servant and was paid for the service he rendered and not for his kinship with some remote ancestor. The *mansabdars* were not a nobility in the European sense of the word.

CHAPTER XXXII

LITERATURE AND ART

Cultural activities found an opportunity for development when a strong Central Government was established under Akbar in the north. A special feature of the Mughul Emperors was that each one of them was fond of arts and letters. Their generous patronage of the arts attracted the greatest of Persian artists and poets to Hind-Pakistan. Most of them adopted the sub-continent as their home and died here. Faiḍi, 'Urfi and Naziri are names which will always be quoted with respect in the history of Persian literature, for their language and idioms. Jahangir appointed Ṭalib of Amul his poet laureate, and himself prepared a selection of his verses, which testifies to his good taste in poetry. During the reign of Shah Jahan, Abu Ṭalib Kalim and Mirza Saib arrived at Delhi and were favoured with royal patronage according to their expectations. Aurangzib was himself a writer of a high order. His letters have earned a place for themselves, particularly due to their style. In addition they are a good source for the history of the period.

Babur's Memoirs

Babur and Jahangir are the only sovereigns among the Mughul rulers who wrote their autobiographies. Babur originally wrote his *memoirs* in Turki and they were later translated into Persian by 'Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan during the reign of Akbar. Babur has made good use of keen power of observation in his *Memoirs*. He presents only well-balanced facts without either exaggeration or literary flourish. In Babur's *Memoirs* we come across interesting comments on the political and social condition of central Asia and northern Hind-Pakistan which are of great importance to the historian. For instance the picture painted by Babur of the universally low standard of Indian life is as true today as it was five hundred years back.

In fact, the change that Indian life and culture underwent later on was the result of the great influence of the Islamic culture of central Asia. Here is the description in Babur's own words which he has left for us:

"In Hindustan there is no good horse available, nor is there any good meat. Grapes, melons, ice and cold water are unknown here. Similarly there are no baths, no colleges, no candles and no candle-sticks. Instead of the last named they have *divat* which stands on three legs; in one of these legs they drive a piece of iron, resembling the mouth of a lamp-stand, into the wooden portion; there is a low burning wick in the other leg. On the right-hand side there is a gourd with a narrow hole, through which the oil comes out in a thin trickle. When rajas, maharajas and noblemen require a light at night the servants stand by them with the dirty *divat* in their hands.

"There is no running water in gardens and buildings. The buildings are lacking in neatness and proportion as well as grace and symmetry. The common people move about with bare feet wearing only a narrow loin cloth. The women wear a *lungi* half of which they wrap round their waist while with the other half they cover their head (and the body.)"

The statement of Babur gives an insight into the general standard of life prevailing at that time in the sub-continent. This standard improved considerably, especially in the cities while older customs and manners continued in villages.

Jahangir's Memoirs (Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri)

Jahangir's *Memoirs*, too, are a mine of information about the life of the people in general in those days. Jahangir has a unique style which is the outcome of his personality. The *Memoirs* add to our information about the administration of the Empire. We get detailed knowledge about the organisation of courts, trade with foreign countries and the establishment of work-shops, granaries and feeding-houses. As far as fine arts are

concerned there is considerable information about painting in the *Tuzuk*.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* contains details of the working of the administrative machinery. This book gives a complete picture of the culture which came into existence through the Mughuls. Land settlement and its measurement, industry and manufacture, striking of coins, textile industry, inventions, justice, organisation of the army, works of public welfare, increase and development of animal breeding—all these are described in it in detail.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* is the third volume of the *Akbar-Namah*. The first two volumes of this book contain a history of the Timurid dynasty. As the administrative reports of our times provide detailed information, in the same way the *Ain-i-Akbari* gives us an account of the system of administration in *Akbar's* days. Since Abul Faḍl held high office and enjoyed complete confidence of the Emperor his statements are of great value to the historian.

Historical Works

Some excellent books on history were written during the Mughul period, which are universally accepted as authorities. Besides the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbar-Namah*, 'Abdul Qadir Badayuni's *Muntakhabat-Tawarikh* and Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* were written during Akbar's reign. The *Tarikh-i-Firishtah* also belongs to this period; it was written at Bijapur. There is a good deal of useful information about the Mughuls in this book. It is particularly useful for details of the political relations that were being established between the Mughuls and the Deccan in Akbar's reign. For the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan the *Iqbal-Namah* of Mu'tamad Khan, the *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri* of Khwajah G͟hairat Khan, the *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* of 'Abdul Baqi; the *Padshah-Namah* of Mirza Amin Qazwini, the *Padshah-Namah* of 'Abdul Ḥamid of Lahore, *Shah-Jahan-Namah* of Muḥammad Sadiq and the *'Amal-i-Salih* of Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ Kamboh are worth

mentioning. For the reign of 'Alamgir the *'Alamgir-Namah* of Mirza Muhammad Kazim, and the *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri of* Mirza Muahmmad Saqi Musta'id Khan, and for the later period Sujan Rai's *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and Muhammad Hashim Khawfi Khan's *Muntakhabul-Lubab* are well-known historical works which deal with political and military history. Here and there we come across glimpses of social and cultural life as well.

Growth of Urdu

Although Urdu had come into existence before the Mughuls, yet it was under them in particular that it grew. For centuries caravans had been coming into this sub-continent from Persia and central Asia and the people who came with them in most eases adopted this land as their home and worked for its development and prosperity. Scholars, soldiers, traders, to be brief, men of every status and in every walk of life created altogether new conditions for the people of Hind-Pakistan with whom they had to deal. It points to their intelligence and capacity for adjustment that they cooperated with the new elements despite untouchability and caste restrictions. The Urdu language is a memory of the same cooperation. The court and official language was and continued to be Persian to the last days of Mughul rule. But all through this period Urdu continued to grow and develop steadily, though gradually. Although it enjoyed no special State partronage except in the last days of the nineteenth century, it possessed such vitality in its structure that it continued to grow and spread on its own, adjusting itself to the new conditions. This language was not specially a language of the Muslims. It is on the other hand a symbol of the unity of the Hindus and Muslims. Its cause has been served not only by the Muslims but also by the Hindus. Both have had an equal share in its growth and development. It has therefore the right to be the national language of both Pakistan and Bharat.

The monarchs, it is true, did not take any particular interest in its development, but the *sufi* saints who dealt with the common people used it in conveying their message of goodness, virtue and humanity to every nook and corner of the sub-continent. From the beginning it was synthetical in construction. The warp and woof of Islamic culture and Indian civilisation were woven together in its texture. It was inevitable that it should be popular. First spoken in the camp and the market, it slowly rose to the pulpit and the *masnad*, and ultimately the entire intellectual life of a vast section of Hind-Pakistan population became closely linked with this language. It is an invaluable gift of the Islamic period handed down to the present generation of the sub-continent.

During the Mughul period Tulsi Das, Sur Das and Mira Bai influenced Hindu society by their verses and ideas of reform. The *bhakti* movement born as a result of the influence of Islam reached the common people through this simple language. First Akbar and then Dara Shukoh had the relgious and scientific books of the Hindus translated from Sanskrit into Persian, so that closer ties between the ruler and the ruled might be established and that both might become familiar with the beliefs of the common people. In short we find every kind of literary activity in this period, evidence of a high standard of culture and civilization.

Fine arts: painting

The Mughul Emperors and nobles were particularly interested in the fine arts. Among the departments established in Akbar's reign, there was one dealing with painting. Akbar had made special arrangements for his subjects to learn this art from Persian masters. We find in historical works an account of Vishwanath who was the son of a Hindu water-carrier. While he was only about twelve or fourteen years old, Akbar happened to see him drawing pictures on walls with charcoal. Akbar's discerning eye at once saw that the boy possessed artistic

aptitude. He put Vishwanath in the charge of Khwajah 'Abdul Majid, and the Hindu water-carrier's son acquired perfection in his art in a short time and became a famous painter. Painting flourished vigorously under Jahangir who was a great critic of this art. He writes in his *Memoirs*, "I possess such expert knowledge in this art that if a painting is brought to me, I can say which particular painters have worked on it." Among his court painters Abul Ḥasan and Ustad Manṣur rose to great fame. Ustad Manṣur was particularly proficient in painting animal life and flowers.

Sir Thomas Roe visited Jahangir's Court as the ambassador of the king of England. He has left an account of the Court in his travels. At one place he writes that he had presented to Jahangir a painting which he had specially ordered from England. One night when he was summoned by the Emperor he saw six paintings displayed on a table. The Emperor asked him to pick out his painting. Sir Thomas Roe admits that he was unable to distingiush his picture in the dim light of a candle. He could recognise it only after an effort lasting for some time. This shows how great were the masters of this art employed at Jahangir's Court.

At Jahangir's command the Court painters had prepared unique paintings and albums depicting birds and flowers. Jahangir was a lover of nature. He describes a scene from Kashmir in these delightful words:

"Kashmir is an ever-green garden. So far as the eye can behold there is nothing but green grass, running waters, roses, violets, narcissuses and other flowers of hundreds of varieties. In spring not only the gardens and plains but even the walls and the doors and the courtyards are covered with anemones, one cannot possibly count the varieties of flowers found in Kashmir. Ustad Manṣur, the painter, has painted more than one hundred different flowers at my command. In the days of my late father, Akbar, Kashmir did not produce any plums.

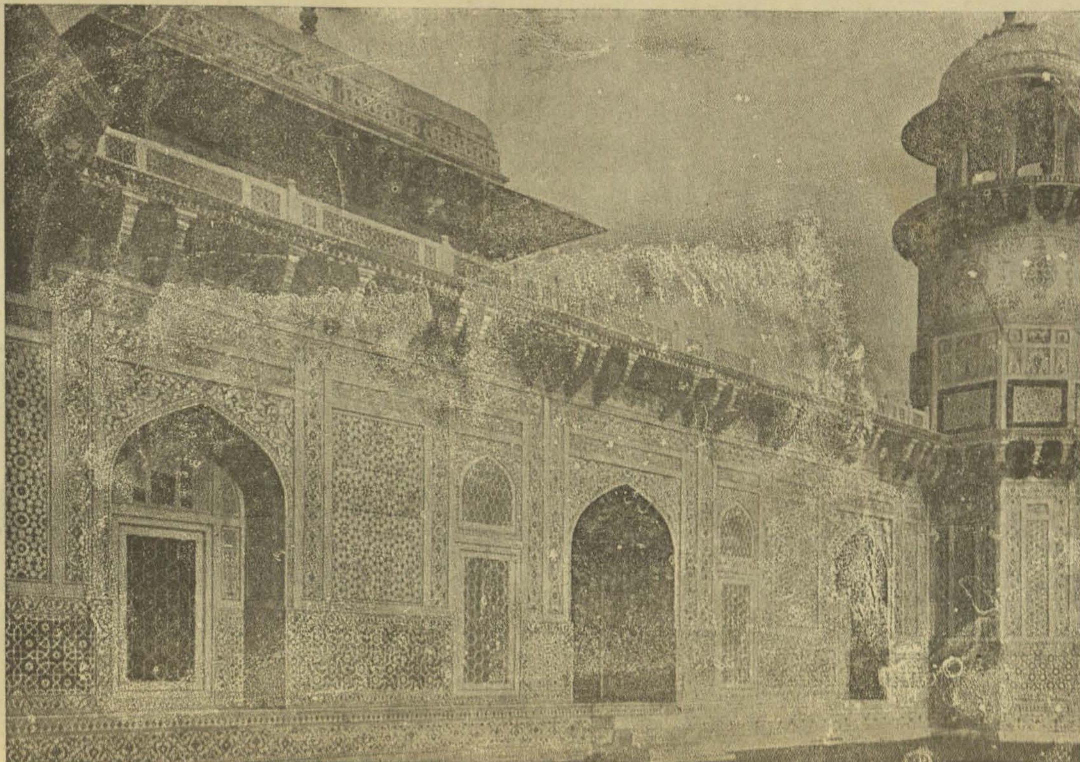
Muḥammad Quli Afsar brought them from Kabul, and prepared grafts. Thus ten or fifteen trees have been grown so far."

Dara Shukoh also patronised the art of painting. The Mughul school of painting influenced the art and spread through the entire sub-continent. Thus there grew up the Rajput school of painting, the Kangra school of painting which is only a branch of Mughul painting, and the Deccan school. Before the Mughuls, paintings were done on walls. The Mughuls started painting on paper and their appreciation and patronage infused a new life into this art.

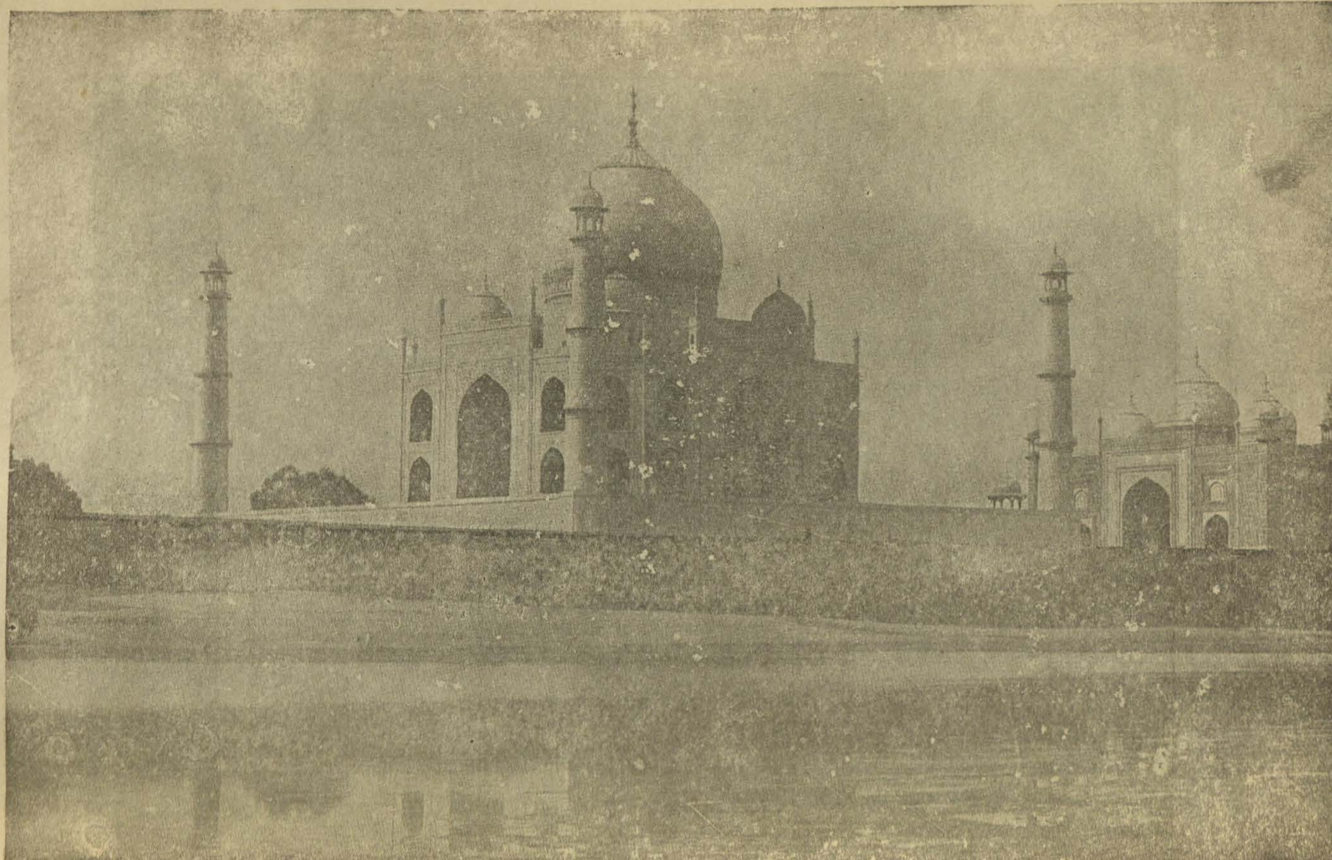
Besides painting, the Mughuls also patronised architecture.

Architecture

Specimens of Akbar's architecture exist at Fatehpur Sikri. The "*Buland Darwazah*" ("High Gate") and Shaikh Salim's tomb are worth mentioning Besides them, the forts at Agra and Lahore, the great mosque of Agra and Humayun's tomb are sublime specimens of the architecture of this period. This art developed most under Shah Jahan. Up till now, red stone was largely used in Mughul edifices; Shah Jahan imported marble from the quarries at Agra and used it in his buildings with considerable skill. The entire *Taj Maḥal* is built in marble in which flowers and plants are made of coloured stones which were inset. The *Taj*, is the best specimen of Mughul architecture, of which the beauty of proportion cannot be praised too highly. Besides the *Taj*, the *Red Fort* and the *Jami'-Masjid* at Delhi were constructed with particular care during Shah Jahan's reign. The Emperor himself was so deeply interested in architecture that he personally examined every detail and offered his advice to the experts. The fort at Agra had been originally built by Akbar, but Shah Jahan made important alterations in it. In this fort the *Diwan-i-Khas* (the hall of special audience) the *Diwan-i-'Am* (the hall of general audience), the *Khas Maḥal*, the *Shish Maḥal*, the *Thaman Burj*, *Anguri Bagh* and the *Pearl Mosque* were all built by him. The



Tomb of I'timad-ud-Daula, Agra



Taj Mahal, Agra

excellence and delicacy of the *Pearl Mosque* causes even connoisseurs to gasp with wonder even today. The effect of its proportions, and the purity of the white marble cannot but inspire the human mind with spiritual purity and adoration. The *Pearl Mosque* is a masterpiece of Mughul architecture. It is small but an edifice of great architectural value.

The style of the monuments that were built at Lahore during the reign of Shah Jahan is slightly different from that of Agra and Delhi. The buildings at Lahore are in brick with glazed tile decoration. Such tiles were in use in Sind and Multan also, where they were manufactured. Occasionally Kashani tiles were imported from Persia. Buildings with tiles were numerous in Lahore—*Wazir Khan's mosque*, *'Ali Mardan Khan's tomb*, *Gulabi Bagh* and *Chauburji* are specially worth mentioning. At Thatta in Sind a spacious *Jami' Mosque* built in the reign of Shah Jahan is in this very style, and geometrical figures on the tiles add to their beauty.

Architecture could not retain for long that greatness to which it had risen under Shah Jahan. There were two main reasons for this decay. In the first place Aurangzib had to spend all his treasure on the Deccan wars. He did not possess sufficient wealth for buildings like Shah Jahan. Secondly, every art has its climax, after reaching which it invariably declines. This is what happened after Shah Jahan: architecture after reaching its zenith tended to decay. Some experts, therefore, maintain that already in the closing years of Shah Jahan's own reign indications of this decay had begun to appear.

The *Badshahi Masjid* at Lahore built under the supervision of Fidai Khan Kuka, a famous military engineer, in the reign of Aurangzib, displays strength and simplicity. Although it is much bigger than the *Jami' Mosque* at Delhi, it lacks the latter's proportion. The tomb of Aurangzib's wife, Rabi'ah Daurani, at Aurangabad, had been built after the *Taj*, but its height and width are not proportionate. The building therefore looks unimpressive and is insignificant architecturally.

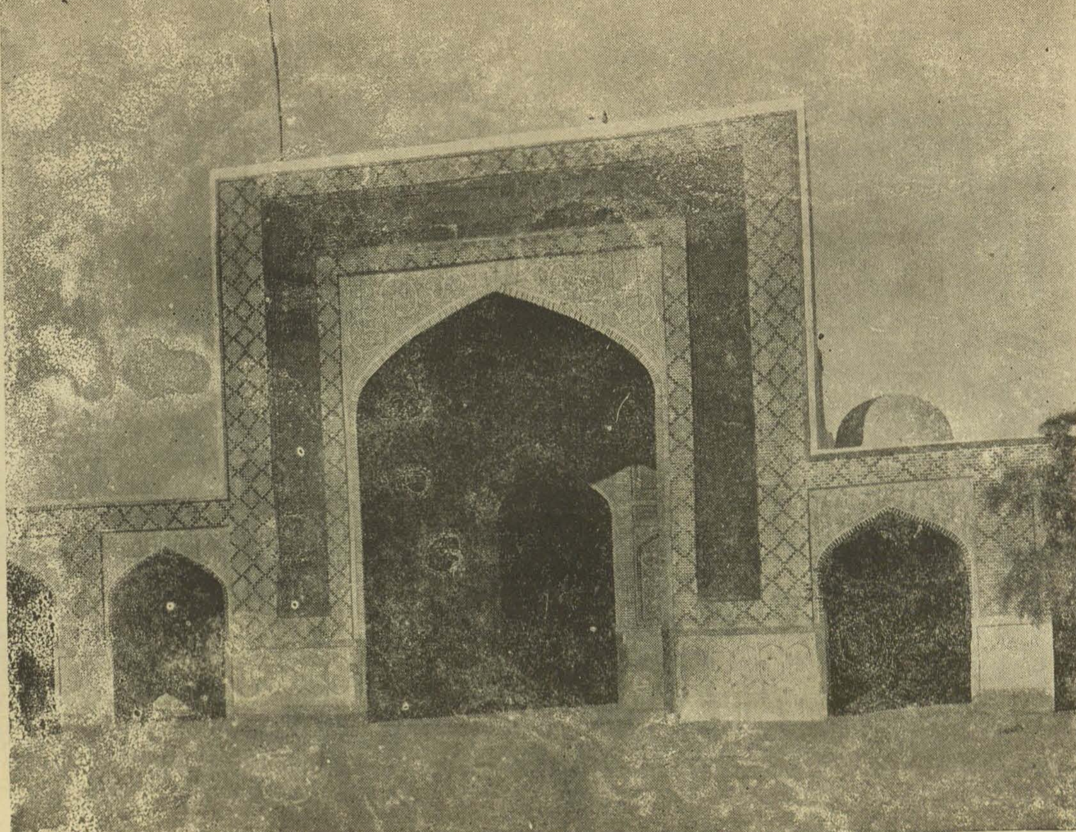
A specimen of Mughul architecture in its closing phase is *Safdar Jang's tomb* at Delhi, situated not far from Humayun's tomb. Its artificiality is patent. Besides, it is lacking in freshness and strength—qualities displayed by Humayun's tomb which stands close by. This difference is quite natural because Humayun's tomb was built in those days when the Mughuls were surcharged with lofty ambitions whereas Safdar Jang's tomb was built at a time when their power was on the wane and their rule had begun to suffer from weakness and confusion. These two specimens situated within easy distance bring out the fact that a nation's architecture reflects the strength of its character and general life.

Other arts

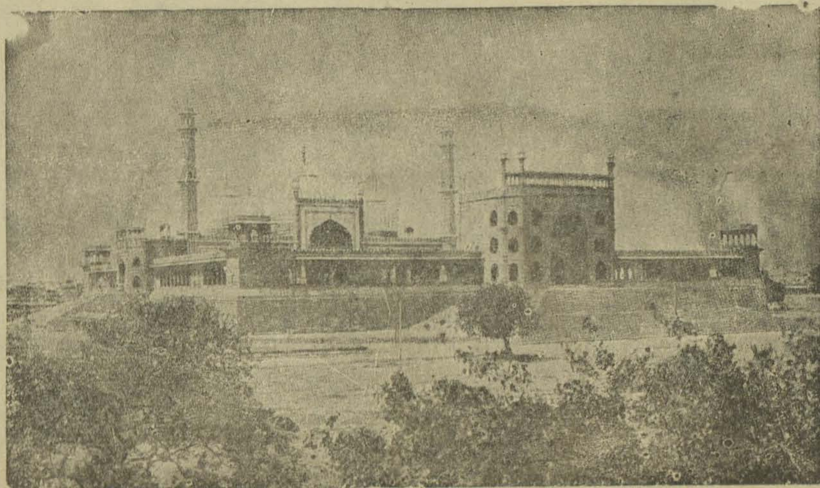
The Mughul period was generally favourable to the fine arts. Besides painting, calligraphy also flourished. Princes and sons of noblemen learnt calligraphy because it was considered to be a part of culture and education. Music also improved. Tan Sen was a favourite court musician of Akbar and through his efforts music made great progress. Nur Jahan's interest was responsible for new styles in female dress, ornaments and new perfumes. In brief, there was no social amenity or decorative art which did not get an opportunity to develop itself.

Education

Important changes were introduced in the syllabus of education through the efforts of Shah Fatḥullah Shirazi in the reign of Akbar. Shah Fatḥullah was such an outstanding scholar that Abul Faḍl, in expressing his opinion about him, said that very few scholars of his standing existed in the world of Islam. During the later days of the Mughuls the Niẓamiah system of education came into vogue. It aimed at creating such ability in the scholar as should enable him to acquire perfection in any branch of learning through personal effort and self study. This syllabus fulfilled the aims of general education and was, therefore, very popular.



Jami' Masjid, Tatta, (Built by Shah Jahan)



Jami' Masjid Delhi

Education was much sought after under the Mughuls. Islamic schools were attached to mosques, *khanqahs* of the *sufis* and tombs. Sometimes the schools were housed in separate buildings which were constructed for the purpose by a king or a noble. Their expenses were met from endowments. In addition to this permanent income they also enjoyed the patronage of royalty and nobility. The recognition that learning and scholarship received in Hind-Pakistan attracted men of letters from central Asia and Persia, and most of them adopted it as their home and spent all their lives here. Aurangzib collected a band of theologians and with their united efforts had the *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri* compiled, which is acknowledged to be an important work on jurisprudence. This book contains a code of religion for the social life of the Muslims. It is a valuable source of information to which one may turn with profit even in these days.

During this period the principal centres of learning and accomplishment were Thatta, Multan, Lahore, Sialkot Ahmadabad, Delhi, Ajmer, Allahabad, Lucknow, Jaunpur, 'Azimabad (Patna), Dacca, Murshidabad, Surat, Bijapur, 'Daulatabad and Burhanpur, etc. The expenses of the educational institutions were met from endowments. In addition, famous scholars received fixed stipends from the royal treasury so that, free from financial embarrassments, they should be able to devote their life to teaching. No fees were charged from the students; all their expenses were met from the endowments. The State also made land assignments in order to help them.

The Hindus were permitted to set up *patshalas* where they made arrangements for imparting religious instruction. But in Government primary schools (*maktabs*) where elementary education was imparted, the Hindus and the Muslims studied together. There was special provision for the teaching of Persian in these *maktabas*, because it was the official language

Government. Some Hindus consequently acquired great proficiency in Persian and have left works in that language. Even the Persians themselves acknowledge the service that Hind-Pakistan has rendered to the cause of Persian literature in the Mughul period.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The king in Mughul society was its head. His thoughts, his mode of life and his likes and dislikes created a deep impression on it. Not only was he undisputed master in all matters of law and politics, but his personality influenced every aspect of culture and life. The nobles looked to the king for guidance and followed his directions. The other ranks in their turn followed the nobles.

The nobles

Politically the nobles were the most important section of society. They were raised to high station by the kings. Their rank could not be inherited and the son of the greatest started from the bottom. Three qualifications were indispensible in order to gain promotion: ability, service and a knowledge of man. Since every step in promotion was the result of personal effort and service, only experienced men rose to high ranks. There were men of every type and nationality among the Mughul nobles. For example, there was room for a Persian, a Turanian, an Afghan, a Muslim of Hindustan and a Hindu in the group of nobles. The title of 'Mirza' was generally reserved for the princes or the king's immediate relatives. The Jaipur raja, Jai Singh, also received this title as a relation of the king's family, and he was called Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Sa'dullah Khan, who was a *Wazir* of both Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, began life as a clerk, but by sheer dint of ability and honesty he rose to be a minister. Many cases are recorded of men who started in humble posts and later rose to higher rank.

The Mughul nobles lived with great pomp and display. They received their salaries sometimes in money and sometimes in the form of temporary *jagirs*. Since neither salary nor jagirs was hereditary, they were not able to amass great wealth, and at times were in debt. The nobles seldom practised frugality,

they lived in palaces and had a fairly large followings of sepoys and servants. When they were free from military operations or attendance at court, they held durbars modelled, on a smaller scale, on those of the royal court. When any one waited on them, the *naqib* (announcer) would call out his name loudly. All others, except men of the same rank, sat silent and respectful. oets were in attendance in the courts of nobles, who were themselves interested in literature and poetry, and on suitable occasions would recite their laudatory poems or verses, which received due appreciation. The most illustrious example among them is that of Bairam Khan's son, 'Abdur Raḥim Khan-Khanan. Some of the nobles supported a large number of poets and scholars by giving them stipends. A large number of artisans and craftsmen earned their living through the nobles' personal likes, dress, decoration and necessaries of life; and arts and crafts thus developed and flourished. Every noble owned a stable which was stocked with elephants, horses and beasts of burden.

Middle class

Merchants of standing, men of letters, teachers, government officials and petty officials artists and skilled artisans of good standing were counted among the members of middle class. Gujrat merchants were very well off owing to trade with foreign countries and lived like nobles. Some of them were so rich that, according to the statements of English travellers, each one of them possessed capital bigger than that of the Bank of England. The honour and respect commanded by wealthy merchants were in proportion to the wealth they owned. Some had dealings with the class of nobles only. Artists and men of letters were highly respected. It was a source of fame to kings and nobles alike to serve them. This group included a large number of persons who were in receipt of stipend or "*madad m'ash*" from the government treasury. A large number of cavalry men should also be included in the middle class.

Common people

In addition to these two groups there was a third, the largest, the common people. Small businessmen, shop-keepers, servants *e.g.* barbers, washermen, water-carriers, sweepers and personal attendants, ordinary artisans, carpenters, blacksmiths, farmers and more or less all persons of ordinary status fell within this vast group. The most important member of the group, and the most numerous was the peasant. His standard of living was higher than that of the present day peasant, because the population being limited a large portion of it was absorbed in arts, handicrafts and other vocations, leaving free an abundance of arable land. The needs of the farmer were met by the village, and they led lives of comparative comfort. Of course, their condition became precarious during famine. The government made efforts to render help by remitting the land revenue and also by distributing grain. But sometimes, owing to poor communications, government help did not arrive in time, with the result that famine left many towns and villages in distress.

Agriculture

The subjects were generally well-off. The king took an interest in industries, crafts and trade. The government's share in agricultural produce was at the most one-third. The revenue collecting staff was particularly instructed not to be severe. Those who brought fallow land under cultivation received special concessions. In times of need, the farmers got financial help from the government. The officials were instructed to treat them well and to induce them to increase cultivation, to give them money as *taqavi*, if necessary, for plough, oxen or for seed, to forego the land revenue if owing to excessive or scanty rains or some other natural cause, the crop was damaged; to find out their needs and grievances by meeting them in person; and not to realize any irregular cess from them. In short, the government's chief concern was the welfare and happiness of every group of its subjects, specially that of the farmers, because the government's own prosperity

was linked with it. The group of landlords did not form a barrier between the government and the farmers.

Industries

Industries flourished and were in a happy position. The needs of the royal courts and nobles provided a living for a large group of skilled artisans. Their skill was of a distinctly high order and their manufactures won the approbation of the king, the nobles and European travellers. The textile industry was the most highly developed. Gujrat, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Banaras, Patna, Dacca and Sonar-gaon were the big centres of this industry. Dacca muslin had acquired world fame. Cloth was exported from Dacca in large quantities, and greatly prized in Europe. Lahore, Agra, the provinces of Gujrat and Bengal were the main centres of silk textile industry. Besides meeting the needs of the country, silk fabric was exported even to Europe where it found a ready market. *Shawls*, carpets, articles made of wood, decorative objects etc., were all well-made. The government gave direct help to several industries.

Trade and commerce

Since there was peace and security in the country trade flourished. Merchants purchased their wares at one place and despatched them to another, earning huge profits. Foreign trade also was in a happy condition. Some of the business was transacted through Kabul and Qandhar, but most of the trade took place by sea. Lahari Bunder (Sind), Surat (Gujrat), Goa, Calicut and Cochin (Malabar Coast), Masulipatam and Negapatam (Coromandal Coast), Chatgaon and Sonargaon (Eastern Bengal) were ports of call for ships laden with merchandise. All this trade was, however, controlled by the European merchants, who reaped great profit from it. Gold, silver, horses, velvet, raw silk, precious stones, porcelain, Abyssinian and Turki slaves etc. were imported, while textiles, spices and indigo were exported.

Gaiety, prosperity and plenty were everywhere. There was no lack of work, and although the prevailing rate of wages was low, necessaries of life were so cheap, that even a small income went a long way. An English historian, Moreland, has stated after careful calculation that during the Mughul period things were seven times cheaper than in 1912 A.C. This means that the present-day prices current in Pakistan are thirty to thirty-five times the prices of Mughul days, whereas prices prevailing in India are fifty times higher.

General Prosperity

European travellers who visited the country were full of praise for the abundant supply and low prices of articles. One traveller has stated that two square meals a day cost him only one or two annas.

The big cities were full of life and activity. One European traveller said that Agra and Fatehpur Sikri were both greater than London; that there was a continuous population between the two for a distance of twelve miles, and that there were also shops. Another traveller has stated that the Punjab was a fertile province and that its main city, Lahore, was spread over a vast area and was full of men and riches, being a great trading centre of India. According to him there was no city like it, either in Europe or in Asia. Delhi, Ahmadabad (Gujrat), 'Azimabad (Patna), Burdwan, Dacca and Chatgaon were also very populous and flourishing cities.

The cities

Despite Akbar's policy of showing favour to the Hindus, his cult of *Din-i-Ilahi* and the toleration of other Mughul Kings, and Muslim officials and nobles, there was distinct difference between Hindu and Muslim manners and style of life. In certain matters Hindu society had made its own mark on Muslim life, yet the Muslims were able to maintain their national individuality and distinction, and their mode of life remained separate.

Islamic society

Among the Muslims *adhan* (call to prayer) was said into the ear of a newly-born baby, and after some days its head was

shaved. When the child attained the age of four years, four months and four days, the *bismillah* ceremony was held. There was no early marriage among the Muslims. The marriage ceremony consisted in the reciting of verses from the *Quran* and other prayers by the *qaḍi*. After death, a Muslim was buried after funeral prayers had been said.

Marriage customs

Notwithstanding these fundamental differences, many customs were common to both Hindus and Muslims. A European traveller has left the following description of a Muslim marriage:

'In arranging the match neither the boy nor the girl were consulted. This is a matter which is settled either by the parents or other elderly persons in the family. The immediate relatives of the boy visited the girl's house and proposed the match. If the girl's side agreed the other side sent a ring and other presents. After this the girl's side sent *pan*, handkerchief and some other articles. This is the betrothal ceremony. The two families indulged in great rejoicings, drums were beaten and there was a good deal of activity. After sometime a date was fixed to celebrate the marriage. The bridegroom and his parents accompanied by a large party proceeded to the bride's house. The party included all the relations of the family. Sweatmeets, candy sugar, almonds, raisins and other dry fruits were carried in wooden trays along with a sum varying from one hundred to one thousand rupees according to the status of individuals. This sum was distributed among the bride's relations. The marriage party was accompanied by a band of musicians and drums and carried lamps and torches. The bride's relations brought colourful dresses for the bridegroom and flower-laden boats and ships made of paper. These were left on the roof. Then the ladies joined together in applying the *ubatna* to the bridegroom. Then *hinna* which came from the bride's home was applied. Next day the marriage ceremony was completed. The bridegroom was clothed in red, and his face covered with

sehra flowers. While the ceremony was on, the bridegroom sat almost dumb. Both in the *zananah* and the men's part of the house dance and music were in full swing. Earlier in the night there was a display of fireworks. Then the *qaḍi* performed the *nikah* ceremony, after which guests were treated to a banquet. Music and dance were then resumed. The bride's dowry was exhibited. Then the bridegroom returned to his house accompanied by the bride and her dowry.

Equality

Islam has taught that all Muslims are brothers and that besides piety and godliness there can be no other distinction between them. None is great; similarly no one is humble. The Islamic principle of equality had not altogether been forgotten by the Muslims of the Mughul period. It is, of course, correct that Hindu manners and customs and their caste system had slightly influenced the Muslims. They were divided into groups of Iranis, Turanis and Hindustanis. The nobles were not free from vanity. The atmosphere of the royal court had enhanced the difference between the high and the low. However, these distinctions could not completely wipe out Muslim brotherhood and equality. In the mosque there was no distinction between the rich and the poor. The rows of the faithful engaged in prayers levelled down all difference between the great and the small. The *'Id* embrace likewise levelled all difference between the great and the humble, the Abyssinian and the Turk, and the master and the slave. In any case ability and loyalty were the necessary qualities for promotion in imperial service. The petty official could rise to the higher grade; and even though without wealth a man might be ennobled or reach even more exalted rank. In fact, Islamic society possessed great elasticity. It did not follow that "once a soldier always a soldier" or that a merchant and his children should remain for ever in trade. The son of the greatest *mansabdar* started from the lowest rung of the ladder. This phase of imperial service was helpful in maintaining equality.

Islamic arts and sciences flourished under the Mughuls.

The 'Ulama and the Mashaikh

Notwithstanding Akbar's meddling with religion, the scientific traditions of the period are glorious. In letters Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi and in the theology *Haḍrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-thani* and Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlavi are outstanding personalities. *Ḥaḍrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-thani* occupies an unusual place in the history of Islam. Towards the close of Aurangzib's reign Shah Waliullah Sahib, whose versatile mind opened up new vistas in religion, ethics, mysticism and philosophy was born. The religious history of Akbar's reign is very interesting. At first the '*ulama* exercised great influence over the king and the administration. But when they quarrelled amongst themselves in the king's '*ibadat khana* (worship hall) over the question of seniority in seating arrangements, and instead of seriously pondering over religious problems indulged in hair-splitting and recrimination, he lost faith in them. But it was the group of '*ulama* that reformers arose their preaching kept intact the individuality of Islam thus saving the Muslims from becoming absorbed by the Hindus.

Hindu society

The most outstanding feature of Hindu society is its caste distinction. Influenced by the principle of Islamic brotherhood, some Hindu reformers made efforts against caste and untouchability. But this organisation of society had become so much part and parcel of Hindu culture and faith that it could not be wiped out. Hindu society was divided into hundreds and thousands of smaller units, each unconcerned with the other. They could neither inter-marry nor eat together. *Shudras* were regarded as unclean. They were neither allowed admission into high caste Hindu temples nor could they listen to the sacred verses of the *Vedas*. High caste Hindus were obliged to take a bath after rising in the morning; and without doing this they could not eat their food.

which they did in the kitchen (*chaukah*). While food was eaten in the kitchen no one could enter it. They refrained from eating meat. The *Kshatriyas*, of course, did not consider it objectionable to eat mutton or goat's meat. High caste Hindus considered it obligatory to bathe in the Ganges once a year. They believed in the influence of stars, and found out the auspicious moment for beginning a task from the *pundits*. They made out the horoscope of a child at its birth and performed certain rites. When a boy attained the age of five he was placed under a *guru*. The Hindus burn their dead, and the ashes are thrown into the river.

Early marriage was common among the Hindus. A widow could not remary, and *sati* was common and continued even in spite of the efforts made by Muslim kings. But one good result of these efforts was that no woman was forced to burn herself against her will. An eye-witness account of a *sati* left by a European traveller is as follows:—

The husband of a girl of eighteen died. She announced that she would burn with the body of her husband. Dressed like a bride she proceeded to the governor's house with a musical band to obtain his permission. The governor took pains to explain to her it was futile to die as *sati*; he even went so far as to offer her an annuinity of Rs. 500/- only if she abandoned the idea of perishing with her dead husband. When she remained firm, the governor permitted her according to the royal *farman*. Then she proceeded towards the funeral pyre. She removed her ornaments as she came near the pyre, and handed them over to her relations. She kissed her child, after which she mounted the pyre and was burnt to death along with her dead husband. This traveller has also stated that many widows did not perish with the body of their dead husbands.

Amusements

Amusements are in life what spices are in food, pleasant recreations are helpful in life's affairs. The Mughul kings and their subjects were lively

at heart and enjoyed a number of pastimes. The Muslims were very fond of hunting and considered it to be good for health. Polo was the sport for men of higher ranks. Riding and wrestling were popular forms of exercise and recreation. *Kabaddi*, *gilli danda*, hide and seek were in vogue. Chess, *chausar*, *ganjfa* and *pachchisi* were pastimes for idle moments. For men in the lower grades of society, fairs, festivals and marriage ceremonies etc., were occasions for amusement. *'Id*, *Shab-i-bara't* among the Muslims, and *Holi*, *Divali* and *Dusserah* among the Hindus were celebrated with great pomp and show. The Mughuls introduced the New Year's Day festival of the Persians.

Dress

A special garment worn by the nobles was the tightfitting *qaba*, a long coat worn over the other clothes. For summer wear, it was made of fine muslin, whereas for winter wear it was made of soft woollen cloth. There was no difference between the court dress of Hindu and Muslim nobles. In winter they were either cotton padded coats or those made of heavy fur. The nobles' dress was encrusted with jewels. The dress of Muslims living in cities generally consisted of a shirt and *shalwar* (a pair of trousers). *Pagri* was the usual headgear. Red *pagri* was a mark of distinction for government servants. There was no specified uniform for the army, they were recognised by their arms alone. The *'ulama* wore a turban and a *qaba*. The Hindus wore a *dhoti*. In winter they covered their bodies with either a blanket or a thick quilt. The Muslim ladies wore *pishwaz*, *shalwar* and a *dopatta* (scarf). The Muslim ladies' dress became fashionable among Rajput ladies. The Hindu ladies wore either a sari or a sheet resembling a sari. *Lahnga* (shirt), bodice and scarf were the usual dress for women in villages. The dress of their Muslim sisters was different, as they wore *shalwar*, shirt and scarf.

Food

The Muslims generally ate well bread and meat being their staple food. Besides this, *pulao*, *biryani*, *zardah*, fowl roasted whole, *kababs* (roasted

meat), *koftahs*(minced meat cooked in the form of balls), *halwa* and similar dishes were eaten. Although they were cooked daily for the nobles, they were enjoyed only on special occasions by the poor. The rich entertained generously since they enjoyed eating in a large company, and they engaged cooks at large salaries, for this purpose. There were Muslim baker's shops in the cities where travellers could satisfy their wants.

The Hindus ate vegetables, *puri* and *kachauri* and also took condiments and pickles. Some Hindus, specially the *Kshatriyas* also ate meat. It was a common practice among peasants to take *kichri* with *ghee*. Among the cereals they ate barley, *jwar* and millet and pulses. Rice and fish were the staple foot in Bengal. There were very rigid rules among the Hindus as regards eating owing to untouchability. They ate alone. On the other hand, the Muslims considered it extremely objectionable to eat alone.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Muslim settlements in the south

Arab traders had set up their colonies and trade centres on the western coast of India before the Muslim conquest of Sind. These Arab traders controlled the maritime trade of the East and the West in the eighth century A.C. In addition to Malabar, the Arabs had their other trade-centres on the eastern coast during the ninth and tenth centuries A.C. Moving gradually from the coast towards the interior, the Muslims had built their mosques in all the principal cities of southern India where they lived respectably. The ruler of Malabar, called *samorin* (Samori), was particularly fond of these Arab traders; he even helped and encouraged them to spread their religion. The reason for this was that with the growth of their trade there was also a corresponding increase in the income of the State. In addition the Arab traders were permitted to take with them new converts to Islam on voyages outside India. The *Moplas*, *Nawait* and *Labbe* of South India are descendants of these Arab traders who settled down in South India and married Hindu wives.

Bhakti movement

At the time that the Arab traders were setting up their colonies in South India, there was severe struggle going on between Brahminism, Jainism and Buddhism. Finally Brahminism completely ousted Buddhism and weakened Jainism. The secret of this success lay in the fact that the followers of Brahminism were in power and in spreading their religion they not only used arguments but power as well. Large numbers of Buddhists and Jains were wiped out in numerous places. In the days of such spiritual stirrings, social and religious ideas of Muslim settlers in South India influenced the Hindus amongst whom they lived. It was not merely an accident that during the eighth and tenth centuries religious movements aiming at reform arose in South India, Brahminism had a double set of

teaching for the high and the low grades of society. The common people were involved in idolatory and superstition. The high and intelligent sections of society believed in the existence of God but attached more importance to intellectual and scholarly discussions than to devotion of the heart, which could not satisfy the heart. Besides this, the social distinctions of the caste system were emphasized to the utmost limit, which scarcely allowed any equality among human beings. Such were the conditions in which Muslim preachers taught of Divine unity and equality of human beings, which were bound to be effective. Although the Muslims lacked political power in South India, yet their numbers increased steadily. The Arab traveller, Mas'udi, who visited the country in the tenth century, and Marcopolo who came later, have both mentioned the descendants of these Arabs and new converts to Islam. Both the descendants of Arabs and the converts to Islam were respected members of the community and some of them possessed such access and influence at the courts of Hindu rulers that they were appointed to posts in the army and navy and held even higher offices in the administration.

While Islamic teaching was silently penetrating into South India during the eighth to tenth centuries, the songs of poets—Alore (the Vishnuite) and Udyar (the Shivite), became very popular. These songs laid great stress on *bhakti*, *i.e.* service or devotion to God. It is historically important to ask why such religious thoughts arose in South India whereas during the previous centuries there is no sign of the existence of such religious ideas.

Certain scholars, who have gone into the matter, hold the view that for centuries there existed a Christian population in the south and that the movement was the result of their ideas. In the first place it is clear that the Christian population was very small and that, too, was confined to a few cities. Secondly,

it had been in existence and sometime its influence, if any, should have been felt. From the account left by the Arab traveller, Mas'udi, it transpires that the Muslim population in South India had increased appreciably, and occupied an important place in religion and society. Besides traders, Muslim preachers were also always busy and the nature of the religious movement made it clear that it was their influence and that of Islam which was the fountain-head of this movement.

Shankra Acharya holds a lofty place in the reform of the Hindu faith. He tried to remove differences, and brought about a good deal of uniformity in beliefs and thought. He introduced revolutionary changes in the Brahmanical religion and it is true to say that he founded a new religion in place of Brahminism. His teaching also reveals traces of Islamic influence.

The Alorites taught the Divine unity through their songs, and held the soul to be imperishable. They also opposed the *Vedas* and *Shastras* and religious rites. Ramanuj, born in 1016 A.C. laid down that *bhakti, i.e.* love and devotion, was the foundation of religion, without which men cannot attain salvation. Ramanuj opposed Shankra Acharya's philosophy of *Immanence of the Divine Being* which was lofty from the point of view of intellectual hair-splitting, but lacked warmth of heart and devotion. He exhorted all believers in *bhakti* to treat all human beings as equals. He instructed the low castes also in *bhakti*, but he did not openly oppose the caste system, because he did not want to bring about a revolutionary change in Hindu society. The *bhakti* movement which he started flourished in several provinces in Northern India and acquired a revolutionary colour. Among the teachers of his school, Ramanand in the fourteenth century was the first to raise his voice against the caste system.

Ramanand

The Khalji and Tughluq Sultans ruled in Delhi when Ramanand preached. It was during this period that the famous *ṣufi* saint, Shaikh

Niẓam-ud-din Auliya, disseminated, without any distinction of caste creed, the teachings of love and humanity, and his disciples reached every part of India to reform the lives of the poor, the friendless and the low-caste people. Some scholars are of the opinion that Ramanand, too, benefited from the company of *ṣufi* saints. It is admitted by all that Ramanand spent a long time travelling in different parts of the country and finding out the conditions prevailing there. After studying religious and social conditions he came to the conclusion that unless fundamental change was introduced in the beliefs of the Hindu faith, reform was impossible. Accordingly, he collected around himself a group of disciples to enable him to put this idea into practice. Of these, twelve disciples became famous later on. They all belonged to low castes and Kabir, a Muslim, was one of them. Ramanand made it unnecessary to have a faith in the *Vedas* and the *Shastras*, and resolved to put an end of the caste system. He had his teachings preached through the local dialects of northern India instead of through Sanskrit. He made *Rama* the object of his devotion instead of *Vishnu*, and laid special stress on the purity of morals without which salvation cannot be attained, no matter how extensive our knowledge.

After his death Ramanand's followers were split into two groups. One of them aimed at reforms through *bhakti* while retaining the then prevailing social system. Tulsi Das, the famous poet of Akbar's regime, whose *Ramayana* has become so popular, belonged to this class. The leader of the other party was Kabir who made it the object of his teaching to root out the caste system by preaching the creed of *bhakti*.

Kabir

Kabir was born in the house of a Muslim weaver of Banaras in 1398 A.C. While quite young he joined Ramanand's group of disciples. All through his life he conveyed his teachings of *bhakti* to the common people through his *dohas*. The language of his verse was simple,

sweet and telling. His verse and message became popular and some of his verses were preserved in the memory of the common people as familiar sayings. Kabir's ideas were so absorbed in the cultural life of the common people of Northern India that their influence lasted, to some extent, for several centuries.

The message that Kabir delivered was unique in its appeal as also in its style. His voice passed both passion and sincerity which are not to be found in any other preacher. He presented truth and falsehood in his teaching as two distinct and separate objects. Sometimes his tone seemed bitter, but he had no choice. He could not present his message in unambiguous words unless he sometimes used harsh words. He made teaching of Divine unity the foundation of all devotion. He exposed religious rites and customs and tried to bring into prominence the true religious spirit so that it should guide human life along the path of bliss and well-being. The *mulla* and the *pundit* both became targets of his criticism. He denounced all acts of hypocrisy that are committed in the name of religion. He was an ordinary man of the world and earned his living as a weaver. He taught that it was not necessary to renounce the world. He owed his belief to the essentially Islamic teaching that the gate of the world should be opened with the key of faith. He has, therefore, taken to task in his pointed verses all those who observe asceticism or renounce the world and break away from mankind.

Kabir was the greatest standard-bearer of love and humanity in the history of the medieval Hind-Pakistan. He addressed the common people in their own language and tried to extricate them for the superstitions in which they had remained entangled for centuries. He looked critically at all meaningless ritual, and laid down that, should it prove to be a stumbling-block in the path of sincerity and devotion, it should be torn out and cast away.

If we look a little more deeply into Hind-Pakistan history it will have to be admitted that the principle of equality that came with Islam to this sub-continent was part of a great revolutionary movement. Kabir carefully assimilated the revolutionary principle to the Indian environment and presented it in such a manner and in such terms as to disguise its foreign origin, so that it could be accepted without hesitation by the people. But the fact is that the teaching he presented was so revolutionary that it could be acceptable only when the entire social structure of the Indians could be changed. But the *bhakti* movement lacked the national incentives needed for this purpose. The principle of equality that Islam brought with it to India was a great challenge to the life of Indians. They tried to understand it, but their effort was half-hearted. Thus was created another sect in the followers of Kabir known as *Kabirpanthis*.

Brahminism has always been elastic, and it has tried to engulf conflicting elements. To take a racial example, Scythians, Sakas and other elements from Central Asia, which entered the Indian population in the space of a few centuries, became part and parcel of the Brahmanical organisation. Since these invading peoples possessed one particular way of life to present, they soon lost their individuality in no time: they were turned salt in the salt mine. Buddhism had, likewise, presented in its teaching principles which would have uprooted Brahminism.

Islamic teaching was much more hostile to the Brahmanical order of life than Buddhism, yet it was, in a way, of a slightly different variety. Influenced by Brahminism, Buddhism held idol-worship as legal for the simple reason that Buddha's idol had been included among the Brahmanical gods. In addition to this, while moral principles were accepted in Buddhism, there was no clear indication about the Divine Being in it. In other words, teaching embraced such moral principles as did not make it binding to accept the existence of God. On the other

hand, Islamic morality rests on the clear acceptance of the God-hood and in having a belief in Him. This difference of point of view changed the moral aspect considerably so far as Islam is concerned. Socially and from the point of view of belief, Islam brought a revolutionary message for all the world. Those who accepted it could never accept a compromise which would weaken their fundamental belief. So it happened in Hind-Pakistan too.

Islamic culture in India accepted certain superficial influences. But there was a limit beyond which such influences could not go. Islamic teaching was to remove certain deficiencies in the social and spiritual life of the Indians, but Islam could not fulfil its mission through indifference of its own rulers. At the same time, Brahminism could not absorb it in any way, and it retained its individuality.

Guru Nanak

The *bhakti* movement that Kabir promulgated was bound to leave its mark in different parts of the country. The message of unity of the Divine Being and equality of mankind was such a source of life that it would have been surprising had it been otherwise. Dadu, Nama Deva, Dharma Dasa, Chaitania and Mira Bai, all made the message of *bhakti* known. In the Punjab, the same principles were presented by Guru Nanak. He was born in 1469 A.C. and died in 1559 A.C. He was influenced by Kabir's teaching. Consequently we come across Kabir's *dohas* and the verses of Muslim *ṣūfīs* in the *Adi Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs.

Guru Nanak taught unity of the Divine Being, who is the Creator of the whole world. He opposed caste system and idol-worship and accepted the principle of equality of human beings. The *Granth Sahib* teaches honesty and truth and aims at the removal of caste distinctions. Guru Nanak's followers are called Sikhs. In its earlier stage the Sikh religion aimed at reforming the morals of the people. But under Guru Gobind

Singh, the tenth Guru, the political and military organisations of the Sikhs were brought about. They thus became a martial sect, although the fundamental principle of Guru Nanak's teaching was opposed to formation of religious groups, and he did not wish to cut himself off from the wider humanity. In the days of Jahangir, Guru Arjun opposed the Mughul rule and thus started a series of Sikh revolts, and they now assumed a political and military status. Their revolts continued down to the reigns of 'Alamgir and Bahadur Shah.

Sufi saints

Despite its shortcomings the *bhakti* movement made a profound impression upon Hindu beliefs and thoughts. It appears from the writings of leading preachers of *bhakti* that they were largely influenced by Islamic teaching. Not only were its beliefs, to a great extent Islamic, it also owed its diffusion to Islam through the acceptance and promotion by Muslim sovereigns of the language of the common people, thus releasing Hindus from the shackles of Sanskrit. This led to the growth of vernacular languages and the release, to a large extent, of the common people from mental enslavement. Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*) was, under the Turks and Mughuls, influenced by Hindu philosophy in the same manner as the *bhakti* movement was influenced by Islam. The *ṣufis* of the early Islamic period were different and they carried out their duty as preachers of Islam by guiding and directing people. But during the Mughul period Islamic mysticism was, to some extent, influenced by the ideas of the Vedantic philosophy, and the *ṣufis* became indifferent to their duty. Before the invasions of Maḥmud of Ghazni, the missionary efforts of Shaikh Isma'il of Lahore and Shaikh 'Ali bin 'Uthman Hujwiri, commonly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, had been in progress. Similarly, Khwajah Mu'in-ud-din Chishti established his missionary centre at Ajmer. He founded the Chishtiyah school of *ṣufism* in India, which discharged its duty of directing and guiding the people in some parts of the sub-continent. Khwajah Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar

Kaki, Shaikh Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar and Ḥaḍrat Niẓam-ud-din Auliya were three outstanding personalities in this school. Akbar was intensely devoted to a Shaikh of the same order, namely Shaikh Salim Chishti, and it was after him that he had named his son Salim. Besides this school, others that did missionary work were the *Qadiriyah*, *Suhrwardiyah* and the *Naqshbandiyah* orders. Through the efforts of these noble souls, Islam spread in areas which were far removed from the centre. At Agra, Delhi, Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar and Gulbarga Islamic power rose to great heights. People living around these centres are, to a large extent, non-Muslims even today. This is a clear proof of the toleration practised by Muslims. Had political influences been at work in spreading Islam, these centres would certainly have had a majority of Muslim population. Through the efforts of the *ṣufis* Islam spread in Kashmir, Bengal, Punjab, Sind and the N.W.F. Province and their lasting effects are visible even today.

Mahdavi movement

During the Lodi period Sayyid Muḥammad, *darvesh* and scholar of Jaunpur, claimed to be Mahdi and stated that his aim was to insist upon the performance of religious duties and avoidance of what has been forbidden in Islam. The movement acquired particular strength through Shaikh 'Alai, a famous divine of the day, who joined it later on during the reign of Islam Shah Suri. Shaikh 'Alai was put to the sword at the *fatwa* (verdict) of Shaikh Makhdum-ul-Mulk. This gave a great fillip to the growth and development of the Mahdavi creed. Makhdum-ul-Mulk had issued a decree against Mubarak also and tried to have him arrested but without success.

Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons, Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi, had to go into hiding. The orders to arrest Shaikh Mubarak and his sons were at last cancelled at the instance of Mirza 'Aziz Kuka, and after some time they went to the imperial court where their influence increased considerably.

Makhdum-ul-Mulk was sent on a pilgrimage. He died in Gujrat on his return from Mecca. Shaikh Mubarak convinced Akbar that, according to the dictates of Islam, when there was a difference of opinion among the divines over legal matters, the 'just imam' (king) was authorised to accept a verdict which, in his opinion, was correct. This view was defective in the sense that Akbar, having had no education, was not thoroughly acquainted with legal justice. Shaikh Mubarak prepared a document to this effect and secured the signature of the court divines on it so as to use it as a proper authority.

Akbar allowed himself still greater freedom of mind, and he founded what became known as Din-i-Ilahi (Divine religion). Din-i-Ilahi was in reality no religion at all. Akbar's followers acknowledged him as their spiritual guide, and promised to sacrifice their life, wealth, honour and faith for him. This meant that they had complete faith in Akbar, and that his opinion was better than their intellect and that his direction was a source of salvation for them. Akbar was influenced by the Zoroastrian and Jain beliefs. Respect to the sun and fire and the giving up of the eating of meat became part of his creed. But Akbar did not deliberately renounce Islam nor did he persuade anyone to do so. Previously, too, there had been many religious teachers who admitted the followers of different creeds to their order and, unmindful of their religious conviction, they attended to their spiritual needs. Akbar, too, followed them. It never entered his mind to abandon Islam as a religion. He did not correctly understand the sufistic doctrines of the immanence of God, but built upon it a structure which suited his own principles and which came very near to disfavouring Islam. The followers of Din-i-Ilahi belonged to different religions, and Akbar had separate instructions for each of them. However, some historians have exceeded the limit, complicating the problem of Din-i-Ilahi unnecessarily. This creed should be taken to be an offshoot of the *bhakti* movement, because many of its features were

to be found in the Din-i-Ilahi which reflected a good many creeds of the day, namely Hinduism, *Tasawwuf* (Mysticism) and local faiths.

Hadrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-thani

Din-i-Ilahi died a natural death after Jahangir's accession. However, the loudest voice that was raised against this apostacy was that of Shaikh Aḥmad, who is known as Ḥaḍrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-thani. First of all he opposed all un-Islamic customs and practices. Once, when he had to attend Jahangir's court, he refused to bow to him. Some courtiers who did not approve of the Mujaddid's teaching incited the king by saying that the Mujaddid objected to bowing before the Emperor who was the shadow of God. Thus he remained in captivity at Gwalior for over a year. He was, at last, set free, and the king was much impressed by his ways and thoughts.

The Mujaddid put an end to apostacy that had started under Akbar, tried to establish uniformity between the *Shari'at* (religious law) and the *Ṭariqat* (path), and offered a new explanation of the doctrine of the immanence of God. He held that immanence lacked in reality. It is only what appears to the eye because the Creator and the creature cannot be one. It is not for the creature to merge into the Creator. It is, on the other hand, its duty to be His slave, which exactly corresponds to Islamic ideals. It was a great revolutionary idea, the effects of which proved to be both lasting and profound. He utilised the *Naqshbandiyah* school of *ṣufism* to which he himself belonged for the purpose of diffusing his ideas. The Persian influence which had left its mark on Islamic *tasawwuf* now began to vanish owing to Ḥaḍrat Mujaddid's new explanation of the immanence of God, and preserve their religion. Later on, Shah Wali Ullah tried to reconcile the views of Ibn-i-'Arabi and Ḥaḍrat Mujaddid, and this imparted strength to the body of Islamic life. The Shah Sahib's disciples, however, could not prevent the decay of the Empire and the Islamic society. Nevertheless, the Islamic spirit survived and it assumed new forms.

PART V

THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

CHAPTER XXXV

EUROPEAN NATIONS COME TO HIND-PAKISTAN

Trade with foreign countries

The commercial contacts of Hind-Pakistan with the countries of the West go back to very ancient times. Under the Muslim rule they were further strengthened. The trade between the East and the West flowed through the land as well as the sea routes. The land route passing through Lahore and Kabul or through Qandhar and Multan reached Iran, which was connected with Transoxiana on the one hand and Baghdad, Syria and Turkey on the other by a number of caravan routes. Several ports on the coast of Hind-Pakistan—Lahiri (in Sind), Surat, Broach and Cambay (Gujrat), Goa, Calicut and Cochin (in Malabar)—deserve special mention. From these ports favourable winds carried the ships to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and from there the commodities of Hind-Pakistan reached the markets of Europe, passing through Constantinople, now known as Istanbul, Alexandria, Venice and Genoa. In the fifteenth century when the Turks established their ascendancy in South-West Asia and on the waters of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, these routes were lost to the nations of Europe. The European traders who had been earning huge profits through this trade suffered heavily and the prosperity of Venice came to an end. Hence they began to think of discovering new routes to continue their trade with the East. It was in the course of his search for a new route to the East that Columbus discovered America. The Portuguese sailors tried to discover a route by going round the continent of Africa and ultimately Vasco de Gama succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope and reaching the coast of this sub-continent. He landed at Calicut on the 27th May, 1498. This event proved to be the first link

of a chain of events which gradually brought several countries of the East under the rule of the Europeans.

The Portuguese

The Portuguese being the foremost among the European nations to discover a new route to the East, it was only natural that they should be the first to obtain a hold over the sea-borne trade of the Indian Ocean. They established their trade centres on the western coast of South Hind-Pakistan; but they did not stop here, and it was not long before that they began to strengthen their political contacts and influence by participating in the quarrels of the rajas of the South. They began to harass the Arab traders who had been carrying on export and import business in the port towns of Malabar. The raja of Calicut, *Zamorin*, disapproved of this conduct of the Portuguese; they retaliated by making a conspiracy against him and entered into an alliance with the raja of Cochin. In 1509, Alfonso de Albuquerque was appointed viceroy of the Portuguese dominions in the east. Two years later he captured the port of Goa which belonged to Bijapur. The Portuguese treated the Muslims of Goa most mercilessly and tried to spread Christianity at the point of the sword. Gradually they succeeded in seizing more ports and in course of time their flag was hoisted on Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassien and Bombay on the west coast and St. Thome and Hugli in the Bay of Bengal. Sultan Mahmud of Gujrat wanted to crush their power with the help of the ruler of Egypt, and in 1508, their combined fleets won a brilliant victory over them near Bombay. But in the following year the Portuguese retrieved their position by defeating their opponents.

In Hugli and Satgaon also the conduct of the Portuguese was reprehensible. They harassed the Indo-Pakistan traders and imposed heavy duties on them; they captured Hindu and Muslim children and forcibly converted them to Christianity. Their cruelties continued unchecked for a long time ; in fact they had become so strong that their activities could not be

suppressed even in the time of Akbar. Ultimately, however, Shah Jahan decided to punish them. The Mughul forces surrounded Hugli and captured it in 1632. For some time they were able to retain their hold on the trade of the Indian Ocean, but in the course of the following century that was also lost to them, and their ascendancy in the East came to an end. The prejudices and narrow-mindedness of the Portuguese had made them unpopular everywhere; they behaved like robbers rather than traders. With the discovery of Brazil in South America their attention was diverted to that part of the world. Moreover, other European nations had also begun to take an active interest in the affairs of the East. The Portuguese, unable to resist them, had to abandon the struggle.

The Dutch

Other nations of Europe tried to discover a route to Hind-Pakistan by going in a northerly direction just as the Portuguese had done by going southwards; but their efforts were rendered fruitless by the forzen seas of the north. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the English and the Dutch decided to break the Portuguese monopoly of eastern trade. The Dutch succeeded in expelling them from the islands of south-east Asia and establishing their ascendancy instead. On the soil of the sub-continent also they set up their trade centres at several places, of which Pulicat, Surat, Chinsura, Qasim Bazar, Patna, Negapatam and Cochin deserve special mention. In course of time they deprived the Portuguese of their hold on the trade of Hind-Pakistan and Ceylon. In 1622, the British expelled them from the Persian Gulf also. With the break-up of the Portuguese monopoly of eastern trade a bitter struggle ensued between the Dutch and the English. In 1623, a Dutch officer at Amboyna arrested ten Englishmen on a charge of conspiracy and had them executed. English writers have even since spoken of this incident as "The Massacre of Amboyna". However, in the end Holland could

not succeed against her rival and by the middle of the eighteenth century her influence was considerably diminished.

The East India Company

The British East India Company was set up on the 31st December, 1600 and was granted a monopoly of trade with the eastern countries by a charter of Queen Elizabeth. In the beginning it had to meet a number of difficulties, but it exhibited great perseverance in facing the dangers involved in travelling on the high seas, establishing business contacts with other people and resisting the hostility of several European nations. Originally the Company wanted to set up its business in the islands of the south-east archipelago, but the Dutch had already secured a strong hold in that region. Hence in 1608 the British turned their attention to the mainland. In the following year Captain Hawkins was sent to the Court of Jahangir, but the Company was unable to get the Emperor's permission to set up a factory at Surat. Subsequently the Company secured the appointment of Sir Thomas Roe as an envoy of the King of England by undertaking to pay his expenses. It was hoped that his efforts would result in more favourable concessions from the Mughul Government. Thomas Roe remained at the Imperial Court for three years and although he was able to get some concessions for his masters, yet no permanent treaty, the Company's main object, was signed. The Company soon started its business on the eastern coast also and secured a *farman* from the ruler of Golconda for permission to carry on trade in the ports lying in his dominion. In 1639, when its claim over the port of Madras was recognised, the Company built the fortress of St. George and laid the foundation of the city. In 1668, Charles II, the king of England, handed over to the East India Company the port of Bombay on an annual rent of £ 10. Within ten years Bombay had grown to a considerable size and the head office of the Company was shifted there from Surat. In 1611, the Company had already set up an office at Hugli. Its business had by now become so firmly

established that the British Government decided to continue the concessions that were originally granted to it. Along with their trade activities the British were always anxious to push forward their political interests. The Governor of Bombay had written as early as 1669 that " we should have our trade goods in one hand and sword in the other". The Directors of the Company had approved of this view and recorded that in arranging its political and military affairs it should keep in view the fact that the British rule would be established in Hind-Pakistan. The Company's authorities acted tactlessly and without foresight, for they took a hasty step in blockading the ports on the western coast and plundering the Imperial ships. For this act of high-handedness it was severely punished by the Emperor 'Alamgir and was ultimately forced to tender unconditional apology. The Emperor accepted its apologies but it had to pay a war indemnity. In Bengal also the Company suffered a similar defeat but was let off in the end by the Emperor who issued a *farman* of pardon. In 1698, the Company secured *zamindari* rights over three villages; one of these was Kalighat which later came to be known as Calcutta.

The prosperity of the Company had begun to rouse the jealousy of many people and they had started attacking its right to hold a monopoly of trade in the East. In 1698, the Parliament declared the trade with Hind-Pakistan open to all. A new Company was started and although it could not beat its old rival, yet the latter was involved in a number of difficulties and complications. The British Government, however, exercised its pressure and consolidated the two Companies into a single concern which came to be known as ' The United East India Company '. Thus in 1709, the monopoly of eastern trade was once again given to a single body of merchants. In 1718, the Mughul Emperor, Farrukh Siyar, granted very generous concessions to the Company. For a nominal payment of three

thousand rupees it was given the right of carrying on trade in Bengal, and through an Imperial *farman* instructions were issued to the effect that no tax was to be levied on its servants. The greatest concession, however, was in respect of the Company's currency which was recognized by the Government of the Emperor. The Britishers had by now realized that the power and prestige of the Mughul Emperor had declined considerably; hence they began to strengthen their contacts with the provincial and other local authorities. In 1739, they entered into an alliance with the Marathas and established friendly relations with the Nizam and the Nawwab of Carnatic. The three main centres of the Company's activities now were the cities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.

France

France was the last of the European countries to join the struggle for securing control over the trade with eastern countries. The French East India Company was established in 1664. Its office was set up at Surat in 1668 and at Masulipatam in the following year. A few years later was founded the town of Pondicherry which subsequently became the capital of French dominions in Hind-Pakistan; in 1609, Chandernagar was built on the bank of the Hugli. The French had not been able to stabilize their settlements before they were called upon to fight against the Dutch settlements in Asia as a result of the commencement of hostilities between the mother countries in Europe. The war which lasted over a long period adversely affected the interests of France in the East and the French Company remained in obscurity for some time. In 1720, however, it was reorganized and its position began to improve. With the appointment of Dupleix in 1742 as the governor of Pondicherry the policy of the French Company took a new turn. He wanted to see the French empire established in the East. In 1740, war broke out in Europe between England and France with the result that their representatives in the subcontinent also began to fight.

The first Carnatic war

The politics of the Deccan had now become very complicated. Legally speaking, the entire sub-continent was under the sway of the Mughul Government, and the Niẓam was only a *subahdar* on their behalf; the Nawwab of Carnatic was a subordinate of the Niẓam, while the English and French factories of Madras and Pondicherry lying on the eastern coast of the peninsula were under the Nawwab. But the decline of the Mughul power and the revolt of the Marathas had made the legal position meaningless. In 1743, the Marathas invaded Carnatic, raided the country, killed the Nawwab and carried his son-in-law, Chanda Saḥib, as a prisoner. The Niẓam installed Anwar-ud-din as the Nawwab of Carnatic.

In 1744-45, war broke out between the two Companies. The English captured a few ships of the French and started preparations for a naval attack on Pondicherry. Dupleix wrote to La Bourdonnais, the governor of Mauritius, to send help. He came with a fleet of eight ships, reaching Pondicherry in July 1746. When the British commander saw this he made a retreat and took shelter in Hugli. The French laid siege to Madras and captured it after a short scuffle.

The French victory was, however, short-lived. La Bourdonnais started negotiations with the English without the permission of Dupleix and in spite of his instructions to the contrary concluded peace, promising the restoration of Madras for a stipulated sum of money. This led to an open quarrel between them: La Bourdonnais claimed that he derived his powers direct from the Government of France and as such was not bound by the orders of Dupleix, but with the break-up of the monsoons he was forced to leave Madraṣ. Dupleix seized the opportunity, and repudiating the treaty made by La Bourdonnais he attacked Madras and gave it up to plunder. With the departure of La Bourdonnais, however, the French supremacy in the Indian Ocean came to an end. The British fleet commanded by Boscaven

made an unsuccessful attempt to besiege and capture Pondicherry. In the meantime, the peace of Aix-la Chapelle was signed; fighting was stopped at all fronts in the East as well as the West and Boscaven returned to Europe along with his fleet. The eastern possessions of the two Companies were not affected by this war. During the course of the first Carnatic war the French had enjoyed a position of supremacy but in the end they were unable to obtain a victory over their opponents.

The second Carnatic war

The first Carnatic war had shown that ultimate victory in the conflict among European nations for supremacy in the East would, to a large extent, depend on naval supremacy. Dupleix was an intelligent and ambitious man. He soon had a thorough grasp of the internal politics of the Deccan and was able to form a policy to suit the prevailing conditions. He wanted to secure the co-operation of some Indo-Pakistani prince by offering him military assistance and then expel the British from the Deccan. He was carried away by his enthusiasm to such an extent that he closed his eyes to the financial and commercial affairs of the Company and began to offer high stakes in the game of politics.

The death of Aṣaf Jah I in 1748 was followed by a war of succession. His son, Naṣir Jang, succeeded to the *niẓamat*, but he had a rival claimant in the person of Muẓaffar Jang, a grandson of the late Niẓam. It was also in this year that Chanda Saḥib who had been released by the Marathas put forward his claim to the office of his father-in-law. Dupleix made a secret alliance with Muẓaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib. The combined forces of the allies defeated and slew Nawwab Anwar-ud-din in the battle of Ambar in 1749. The Nawwab's son, Muḥammad 'Ali, fled to Trichnapoly, and Carnatic fell into the hands of Chanda Saḥib. The French were rewarded for their services by an assignment of eighty villages.

The British replied by extending their help to Muḥammad 'Ali and wrote to Naṣir Jang for military aid. Accordingly he marched on Carnatic at the head of an army. Muẓaffar Jang laid down his arms, throwing himself at the mercy of the invader. It appeared as if all the schemes of Dupleix would be upset; but he acted tactfully and immediately started negotiations with Naṣir Jang. The latter was, however, assassinated in December, 1750, by one of his own chiefs. Muẓaffar Jang who now became the Niẓam appointed Dupleix *subahdar* of the entire region lying to the south of the Krishna on behalf of the Mughul Government and also conferred upon him the territories surrounding Pondicherry and Masulipatam. On Muẓaffar Jang's request the services of Bussy, the ablest of French officers, were placed at his disposal and he was allowed by Dupleix to remain at the capital of the Niẓam. Dupleix now held two offices: he was the governor of the French Company's eastern possessions and the Mughul *subahdar* of the south at the same time. His policy had succeeded to a surprising extent; the rulers of the Deccan and Carnatic had come under his influence; the British ascendancy in the south had been completely smashed; in short, within a period of two years he had changed the entire complexion of the politics of the Deccan.

Arcot

The British now realized that if immediate steps were not taken to counteract these designs of Dupleix he would certainly succeed in expelling them from the sub-continent. Consequently they despatched troops to help Muḥammad 'Ali who was still in possession of Trichnapoly. Dupleix also sent his forces in 1751 to attack the town. The rajas of Mysore and Tanjore and Murari Rao, the Maratha chief, supported Muḥammad 'Ali and came to help him. The French put in all their effort to capture Trichnapoly; the British decided to relieve this pressure by attacking Arcot, the capital of Carnatic. This move had been suggested

by Clive; hence the responsibility of giving it a practical shape was also entrusted to him. Clive held the view, and later events proved that he was right, that in case Arcot was attacked, Chanda Sahib would abandon the siege and despatch his forces to defend his capital and this would considerably lighten the pressure on Trichnapoly. He captured Arcot with a force of two hundred Europeans and three hundred Indo-Pakistani soldiers. Chanda Sahib immediately despatched the major part of his army to besiege and recapture Arcot. Clive offered a tough resistance with his tiny force and ultimately after a fruitless siege lasting over fifteen days the Nawwab's army was obliged to give up the attempt. The defence of Arcot by Clive stopped the declining influence of his countrymen from total collapse and changed the course of events in the south. The French general had to raise the siege of Trichnapoly and was subsequently captured along with his followers. Chanda Sahib who was also taken captive was treacherously murdered.

The return of Dupleix.

Dupleix would not admit defeat even after this great reverse and continued his effort to capture Trichnapoly. He succeeded in winning over the Marathas and creating a rift in the enemy's ranks. The French soldiers offered stiff resistance to the British at several places. But the Directors of the French Company did not agree with this policy. Indeed Dupleix had not consulted them when embarking on a course of military conquests and political domination in the Deccan. His schemes ended in failure, and one result of his policy was that the trade and finances of the Company were completely ruined. In 1754, he was recalled.

The achievements of Dupleix clearly indicate that he was a capable person. Possessed of a strong determination and enormous capacity for work he knew how to utilize an opportunity to the best advantage and was never discouraged by failure. The ultimate failure of Dupleix can be attributed to

several causes. In his attempt to obtain political and military supremacy he allowed the Company to fall into a state of financial bankruptcy with the result that its failure in the political field left it too weak to be able to revive and stabilize its trade. The French Government, too, did not come to its help. Besides this, the French officers who actually fought his battles, were incapable. Lastly, Dupleix never allowed moderation to control his ambitious schemes; indeed with every fresh victory his lust for conquest grew.

Bussy in Hyderabad

Muẓaffar Jang was assassinated on his way back from Pondicherry when he was returning with Bussy to Aurangabad. Bussy immediately declared Aṣaf Jah's third son, Salabat Jang, as Niẓam and took him safely to Hyderabad. Here he stayed for seven years and established the ascendancy of the French at the Niẓam's Court. At his instance the Nizam ceded to the French the territory of Northern Sarkars which yielded a revenue of thirty lakhs in lieu of the salaries of French soldiers stationed at Hyderabad.

The third Carnatic war.

The successor of Dupleix made peace with the British on humiliating terms. He held the view that the only way of undoing the loss which the Company had suffered on account of political quarrels was to keep it aloof from these affairs in future and devote all their efforts to increase the volume of its trade. But they could not follow this policy for long. The Seven Years' War commenced in Europe in 1756, and two years later the French general, Count de Lally, arrived at Pondicherry after completing a long journey. The English fleet also reached Madras under Pocock after having recaptured Calcutta. Lally who had been sent as the supreme political and military officer attacked and captured Fort St. David without much difficulty (1758). After this he decided to take Madras itself. He demanded a sum of sixty lakhs of rupees from the raja of Tanjore and attacked that State to realize the amount. But his failure in the attempt

severely shook the prestige of the French. Admiral D'Achel also returned to Mauritius with his fleet. In spite of this unfavourable situation Lally insisted on carrying out his scheme of attacking Madras. He called Bussy from Hyderabad and although Bussy knew that his departure would mean the end of French influence at the Court of the Niẓam he had to obey the orders. Clive immediately sent Col. Ford to the south. He took the district of Masulipatam from the French. Salabat Jang concluded peace with the British and ceded Masulipatam to them. Thus the ascendancy of France in Hyderabad was lost for ever. Count Lally was an honest and intelligent man but he was obstinate and short-tempered, and it was for this reason that he could not work with others. He was unable to secure the co-operation of Admiral D'Achel, the governor of Pondicherry, the French officers or in fact of any person. In December, 1757, he attacked Madras. It was an act of foolishness to make an attempt to capture a strongly defended place under conditions which were far from favourable. He was forced to raise the siege after two or three months, and the British were now strong enough to take the offensive. Lally offered courageous resistance but he was ultimately routed by Sir Eyre Coote in the battle of Wandiwash (January, 1760). The French had by now lost a number of places and their capital, Pondicherry, was besieged by the British. In response to Lally's request for help, Ḥaidar 'Ali sent a contingent of his forces to assist the French. Pondicherry had been completely surrounded by the British. Ḥaidar's forces, therefore, had to withdraw themselves, with the result that the city soon fell into the hands of the invaders. In 1763, however, Pondicherry was restored to the French on the conclusion of peace in Europe. But as a result of the reverses of this war the influence of the French was completely shattered. The fortifications of their capital had been razed to the ground and they were allowed to maintain but limited forces on the eastern coast; in Bengal their position

was reduced to that of a merely trading concern. Muḥammad 'Ali was recognized as the Nawwab of Carnatic and Niẓam 'Ali, the new incumbent of the *niẓamat*, was a declared supporter of the British.

The causes of the failure of the French

The French East India Company never devoted itself exclusively to commerce and trade, and therefore always had but a limited income. It was unable to bear the burden of the ambitious schemes of Dupleix and Lally; no doubt they gave her a temporary fame but she gained no permanent advantage. On the contrary, the British were always anxious to maintain a favourable trade balance for their Company. The French Government had a right of direct interference in all the affairs of the Company, and the latter had to look to them for financial support even in matters of trade. The English East India Company, on the other hand, depended from the very outset on its own resources; it could, therefore, find a place for itself in the markets of the subcontinent and maintain its trade activities in a satisfactory condition. This had naturally kept it free from State interference. Their naval supremacy also made a large contribution to their ultimate success in the East. Lastly, their success at Plassey added considerably to the stability of their position in Bengal and ensured their triumph over the French.

CHAPTER XXXVI

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION (1707—1748)

Soon after the death of Aurangzib in 1707, rapid decay of the Mughul Empire set in. This process of decline and resulting distintegration of the Empire continued in subsequent years.

The higher strata of Muslim society had become corrupt, self-centred and effete. Most of the nobles thought and acted with selfish motives in utter disregard of the broader interests of the *Millat*. They frittered away their energies and time in mutual wranglings, and thus paved the way for the dismemberment of the Empire.

Weak successors of Aurangzib

There were two powerful and rival factions at the Court which consisted of the *Turanian* and the *Iranian* nobles. The Turanians who belonged originally to Central Asia were led by Firuz Jang (Ghazi-ud-din I) Chin Qilich Khan (later styled as 'Niẓam-ul-Mulk') and Muḥammad Amin Khan. The Iranians, who had migrated from Khurasan and Persia, were headed by Asad Khan, his sons, Dhulfiqar Khan and Sa'adat Khan. The Sayyid Brothers (Ḥusain 'Ali and 'Abdullah Khan) belonged to this group.

There was an incessant and bitter struggle between the two rival parties over a period of years, rendering the Court a hot-bed of intrigue. This made the Empire weak, so weak indeed that it ceased to assert its authority over the provinces.

During the long reign of Aurangzib, the Mughul Empire expanded to its maximum extent. It was the largest State that ever existed in the sub-continent before the establishment of the British Empire. But the successors of Aurangzib possessed none of the valour, vitality, resolution and promptitude of the early Mughuls. They served merely as the tools of the contending groups at the Court.

The leading nobles at the Court (the Sayyid Brothers, the Nizam, Sa'adat Khan, etc.) found in the weakness of the Empire their own strength. The armed hostilities and internecine strife among the nobles further contributed to the decline of the Empire. The work of Government suffered and the State drifted towards anarchy and bankruptcy. There prevailed general laxity of of discipline in the army. The soldiers received no training worth the name, and the Government exercised little or no supervision over them.

Taking advantage of the unstable conditions at the Centre, a number of provincial governors threw off their allegiance to the Emperor and became virtually independent.

All this produced a feeling of insecurity throughout the country. The peasants and the *zamindars* availed themselves of the opportunity to deprive the State of its due share of the land revenue. The local officials took undue advantage of the fast deteriorating conditions. Most of them became indifferent to their duties and not a few of them actually omitted to credit to the State treasury collections from their respective jurisdictions.

In 1739, the invasion of Nadir Shah dealt a death-blow to the Mughul power and prestige in the sub-continent.

Expansion of the Maratha power (1714—1749)

The Marathas were the people who were mainly benefited by this state of affairs. After Aurangzib's death the Marathas carried their raids across the Vindhyas in an ever-widening circle, threatening the extinction of the Mughul authority in Malwa and Gujrat.

Sahu, the grandson of Shivaji, who had been brought up at the Imperial Court, was released in 1708 by Bahadur Shah (1707—12), who was temperamentally mild and 'generous to a fault'. Sahu established himself at Satara and acknowledged the sovereignty of Delhi in his dealings with the Mughuls.

Sahu was a devote Hindu but a weak and effeminate ruler.

Balaji Vishwanath (first peshwa)

He appointed Balaji Vishwanath, a Brahmin, as the *peshwa* (1714—20). In Shivaji's time the *peshwa* had been his chief minister next only to the raja himself, but Shivaji's system had not survived him. Balaji Vishwanath was a clever and resourceful leader. As head of the civil and military administration he restored a certain degree of peace and order in the Maratha kingdom. But he also took full advantage of his position to increase the dependence of Sahu on himself.

Encouraged by the unstable conditions at the Mughul Court, Balaji Vishwanath came up to Delhi at the head of Maratha levies in 1718. The Sayyid Brothers, who were all powerful at the Court, granted him the Imperial *sanad* which confirmed the authority of the Marathas over territories which were already in their possession, allowed them to levy the *chauth* (*i.e.* 1/4th of the land revenue) in the Deccan and to supplement that levy by the *sardesh-mukhi* (or additional 1/10th over and above the *chauth*).

The *chauth* and the *sardesh-mukhi* were made into instruments of extortion by the *peshwa*, Balaji Vishwanath, and subsequently by his successors.

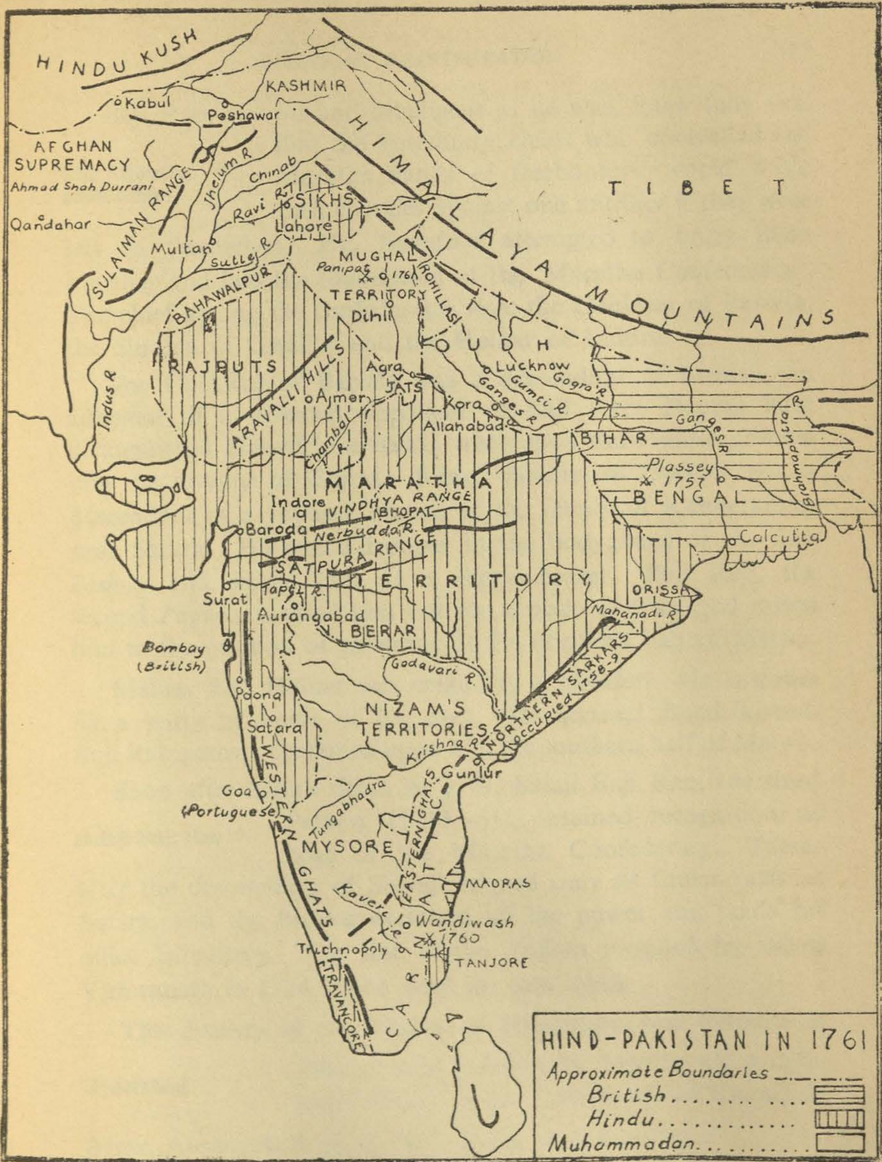
Baji Rao inherited the official position of his father. He

Baji Rao (second peshwa, 1720—40)

overpowered Niẓam-ul-Mulk at the battle of Palkhed (1728) and obtained for Sahu recognition as the head of the Marathas.

In 1733, the Marathas under Malhar Rao Holkar marched to the north on a campaign of plunder and devastation. But Sa'adat Khan, who led the Mughul army, defeated them and put them to flight.

In 1738, Baji Rao forced the Niẓam to sign a convention at Bhopal, whereby the latter undertook to obtain for the Marathas the Mughul province of Malwa. This marks the beginning of the dismemberment of the Mughul Empire.


HINDU KUSH
Kabul
KASHMIR
Peshawar
AFGHAN SUPREMACY
Ahmad Shah Durrani
Qandahar
SULAIMAN RANGE
Jhelum R.
Chinab
Ravi R.
SIKHS
Lahore
Multan
Sutlej R.
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
TIBET
BAHAWALPUR
MUGHAL TERRITORY
Panipat 1761
ROHILLAS
Dihli
OUDH
Lucknow
Gogra R.
Gumti R.
Ganges R.
Kora
Allahabad
RAJPUTS
Indus R.
ARAVALLI HILLS
Ajmer
Agra
JATS
Chambal R.
BIHAR
Ganges R.
Brahmaputra R.
Plassey 1757
BENGAL
Calcutta
MARATHA TERRITORY
Indore
VINDHYA RANGE
BHOPAL
Baroda
Nerbudda R.
SATPURA RANGE
Surat
Tapti R.
Aurangabad
BERAR
ORISSA
Mahanadi R.
Bombay (British)
Godavari R.
NORTHERN SARKARS occupied 1758-9
Poona
Satara
NIZAM'S TERRITORIES
Krishna R.
Guntur
WESTERN GHATS
Goa (Portuguese)
Tungabhadra
EASTERN GHATS
MYSORE
CARNATIC
MADRAS
Kaveri R.
Wandiwash 1760
Trichnopoly
TANJORE
TRAVANCORE
HIND-PAKISTAN IN 1761
Approximate Boundaries
British
Hindu
Muhammadan

The Maratha confederacy

Baji Rao, shrewd and intelligent as he was, knew fully well that the hereditary chiefs who controlled the Maratha bands of freebooters, would waste their energies against one another if they were left to themselves. He, therefore, attempted to bring them together and laid the foundation of the 'Maratha Confederacy'. The chief among the confederates were the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Sindhia of Gwalior and the Holkar of Indore.

The Gaekwar of Baroda was a descendant of Damaji, an adherent of a defeated opponent of Baji Rao. Damaji later distinguished himself in a battle, whereupon the *Peshwa* granted him the revenue of Gujrat. Ranoji Sindhia of Gwalior was a descendant of a younger branch of the family of Kunnerkhair, near Satara. He was a trooper in the bodyguard of the first *Peshwa* and served him as a slipper-bearer. Baji Rao, the second *Peshwa,* marked him out for a place of trust and raised him to the position of governor of the northern half of Malwa.

Malhar Rao Holkar was originally a *silahdar.* He organized a party of horse of his own. He secured Bundelkhand. Baji Rao peshwa conferred upon him the southern half of Malwa.

Balaji Baji Rao

Soon after Sahu's death in 1749, Balaji Baji Rao, the third *Peshwa* (1740—61), obtained recognition as head of the Maratha Confederacy. Thereafter the descendants of Shivaji reigned only as titular rajas at Satara, and the *Peshwa* exercised all the power and made his office hereditary. The line of the *Peshwa* founded by Balaji Vishwanath in 1714 lasted until the year 1818.

Hyderabad

The dynasty of the Niẓam of Hyderabad was founded in 1724 by Aṣaf Jah I in the Deccan which comprised the six *subhas* (provinces) of Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad, Bidar, Hyderabad and Bijapur.

Mir Qamr-ud-din, which was the real name of Aṣaf Jah, was born in 1671. His father Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang had

risen to great eminence under Aurangzib. Qamr-ud-din entered service in 1684 and six years later received the title of *Chin Qilich Khan.* In 1713, Farrukh Siyar (1713—19) conferred on him the title of '*Niẓam-ul-Mulk Bahadur*'. Next year he was appointed viceroy of the Deccan provinces with his headquarter at Aurangabad. Thence he was transferred to Moradabad, being replaced by Sayyid Ḥusain 'Ali Khan. On Farrukh Siyar's murder on 28th April, 1719, he was made the governor of Malwa.

The Niẓam was cautious and watchful. He collected some artillery and enlisted soldiers. Next year he slipped to the Deccan. The Sayyid Brothers tried to undermine his influence at the Court but they were no match for him.

Asaf Jah I

After the fall of the Sayyid Brothers in the beginning of Muḥammad Shah's reign, Niẓam-ul-Mulk was made *wazir* in February, 1722, but was permitted to retain the viceroyalty of the Deccan, which he administered through his agents. He tried to introduce order into the government. But Emperor Muḥammad Shah (1719—48) was indolent and pleasure-loving. He was a plaything in the hands of low and corrupt favourites. The Niẓam who was by nature grave and austere was unable to adapt himself to the conditions prevailing at the Imperial capital.

In 1724, therefore, the Niẓam withdrew to the Deccan and set up, for all practical purposes, an independent State. Thus he became the founder of the dynasty of the Niẓam of Ḥyderbad. The Mughul Emperor, who was soon reconciled to the Niẓam, confirmed him in the viceroyalty of the Deccan and granted him the title of *Aṣaf Jah.*

The Marathas were an ever-present menace to the Niẓam's territories. The Niẓam and Raja Sahu were both anxious for peace. The former took up a conciliatory attitude towards the Marathas, so that in 1725 he almost reached an agreement with the Raja. But the highhandedness of the Maratha freebooters

made an agreement impossible. The relations between the two, therefore, remained far from cordial.

In 1737, the Niẓam was called back to the Mughul capital so that he might save the Empire from destruction at the hands of the Marathas.

Oudh

Another Mughul governor to set up a semi-independent government was Mir Muḥammad Amin, known to history by his more popular title of Sa'adat Khan. He originally belonged to a Persian family of Khurasan, and came to seek his fortune in this sub-continent when the decadence of the Mughul Empire had already commenced. Brilliant and energetic as this young adventurer was, he soon acquired favour at the Court and became a fairly prominent figure. He materially helped Emperor Muḥammad Shah in liberating himself from the thraldom of the Sayyid Brothers. In 1720, he was made the governor of the province of Agra and two years later appointed the governor of Oudh. Besides military talent he possessed great administrative capacity. He soon reduced the refactory spirit of the feudal lordlings and established order in that rich province. In 1724, he set up a quasi-independent government and nominated Safdar Jang, his nephew and son-in-law, as his deputy. He died in 1739 and was succeeded as the governor of Oudh by Safdar Jang.

Safdar Jang was held in high esteem by Emperor Muḥammad Shah who summoned him to the capital and appointed him in 1744 as superintendent of the imperial artillery (*mir atish*). Four years later (1748) he invested him with the *wizarat* of the Mughul Empire, and it became hereditary in his dynasty. He and his successors are therefore called the '*Nawwab Wazirs* of Oudh'. On his death in 1754, his son, Shuja'-ud-Daulah succeeded him.

The Rohillas

The Rohillas trace their ancestry to one Daud Khan, a Pathan adventurer from Roh, a mountainous tract in the north-west. His adopted son,

'Ali Muḥammad Khan, took service under the *faujdar* of Katehr (or modern Rohilkhand) and steadily gained position and power.

'Ali Muḥammad Khan was a man of great energy, ambition, initiative and resourcefulness. He secured the support of Daud Khan's adherents and considerably enlarged his possessions. In course of time he came to possess a large tract to the north-east of the Ganges between Oudh and Kumaon hills, which consequently came to be known as Rohilkhand. He increased the number of his followers and not infrequently delayed and avoided payment of revenues due from these territories to the Imperial Government.

In 1737, he was created 'Nawwab' by the Mughul Emperor, Muḥammad Shah, and confirmed in his possessions. He maintained a strong Rohilla force and made himself practically independent. In 1741, he surprised and killed Raja Harwand who had been sent against him by the Mughul *Wazir*. Soon after he occupied Moradabad, Sambhal and Sahjahanpur.

In 1745, Imperial operations were undertaken against the Rohillas. 'Ali Muḥammad Khan was defeated, arrested and brought to Delhi. Soon afterwards, however, he was pardoned and allowed to return to Rohilkhand.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan

'Ali Muhammad Khan died on the 25th September, 1748, leaving six sons. The Rohilla territory was partitioned into petty principalities. Hafiz Raḥmat Khan, an uncle of 'Ali Muhammad Khan, became the chief guardian of the latter's sons.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan was a man of exceptional courage, initiative and earnestness of purpose. He was a ruler of great ability. He was extremely tolerant in his treatment towards Hindus who formed the major portion of the population of Rohilkhand. The Hindu population was treated with great consideration and received effective protection. He was ultimately able to overpower the warring Rohilla chieftains and organise them into a loose confederacy. He was surrounded

on all sides by hostile powers and was, therefore, unable to fulfil his mission of laying the foundations of a well-knit and powerful state which could take the place of the Mughul Empire. The latter was now passing through a period of steady decay and disintegration, and it had become quite obvious that the subcontinent would soon fall into a state of chaos. This could be prevented only through the establishment of a powerful state under the leadership of a strong and capable chief. Ḥafiz Raḥmat Khan possessed these qualities and was anxious to utilise them for the restoration of Muslim supremacy in the north like Haidar 'Ali in the south. Unfortunately he had to face formidable opposition which was too strong for his limited resources. He put up a brave fight against the combined forces of the British and the Nawwab of Oudh and like a true hero laid down his life in the struggle for freedom (1774). His memory like that of Tipu Sulṭan in the south, will go down to posterity as a brilliant episode in the long struggle of Indo-Pakistani Muslims in the cause of freedom.

CHAPTER XXXVII

GROWTH OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S POWER IN BENGAL

'Aliwardi Khan

'Aliwardi Khan who had become the *subahdar* of this important province in 1739 was a very capable man. Like several other provincial governors he had made himself virtually independent of Delhi. His position, however, was by no means enviable, for he was surrounded by formidable enemies. The Maratha hordes of the Bhonslah raja of Nagpur and the rebellious chiefs within the country gave him little peace. They spread terror over the peaceful inhabitants in the countryside by their frightful atrocities and exactions. Bhaskar Pundit, the general of the Bhonslah, invaded his dominions almost annually in winter and withdrew with the coming of the rainy season; the Afghan chiefs frequently rebelled in Behar. 'Aliwardi Khan tried to buy off the Marathas by pawning to them the entire revenues of Orissa and paying them 12 lakhs of rupees in lieu of the *chauth* for Bengal and Behar. But even these remissions did not stop the Maratha depredations from spreading into Murshidabad and Patna. However, he was able to clear most of the country of the enemy forces by the year 1751. Bhaskar Pundit was lured to a conference and killed. The Afghans in Behar who acted in concert with the enemies were also driven out.

The Marathas were a constant menace to 'Aliwardi Khan. They laid the country waste. The rich compounded with them and the poor either fled from the country or were put to the sword. Contemporary accounts are full of stories of Maratha atrocities. As we have already seen, Orissa had virtually become a Maratha province. It was during the period of Maratha incursions that the English obtained permission of the Nawwab in 1743 to protect their establishments in Calcutta with what later came to be known as the Maratha Ditch. 'Aliwardi Khan died, in 1756, at the advanced age of eighty.

'Aliwardi Khan was a far-sighted and capable ruler. He had allowed the Europeans to trade freely in Bengal; but they were not given the right to go to war and fight among themselves. They violated these orders and went to war—the English and the Dutch on one side and the French on the other. He forbade them to fortify their possessions and forced them to recognise his sovereignty and levied on them contributions to support his war against the Marathas. He was particularly cautious in watching the activities of the English who were slowly gathering power in Calcutta. He fully realised the delicacy of the situation and was not prepared to take any step that might lead to trouble. When advised to expel the English from his province, he is reported to have said: "It is not difficult to extinguish the fire on land, but should the sea be in flames, who can extinguish them?"

'Aliwardi Khan was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah, who is one of those unfortunate figures of our history who have been misrepresented by foreign writers. Recently, however, some historians have tried to present the true historical facts about him in an attempt to establish his place in history as a great and patriotic prince.

The so-called 'Black Hole'

Siraj-ud-daulah was in power for a year and a half only. Soon after his accession the English and the French began to prepare for war in expectation of the renewal of hostilities in Europe. The Seven Years' War, which broke out in Europe in May, 1756, involved the English and the French possessions in the East and they began to fortify their settlements in Calcutta and Chandernagore respectively. Siraj-ud-daulah ordered them to pull down these unauthorised fortifications. It was also about this time that Krishna Das, son of Rajballav, fled to Calcutta with his father's treasures when the latter was arrested for embezzlement. The Nawwab asked the English to send him back, but they refused to carry out his instructions. He was, therefore,

forced into taking action against the East India Company, and punishing it for flouting his authority. He marched on Calcutta and captured the town. Drake, the President of the Council, fled down the river Hugli. Some of the western historians have coined a false story accusing Siraj-ud-daulah of shutting up 146 English captives in a small room. It is stated by them that only 23 survived, the rest having died of suffocation. It has been proved by recent researches that the room was too small to contain so many people and some who were said to have died on this occasion were found to be living in later years.

After capturing Calcutta, Siraj-ud-daulah returned to his capital leaving a small garrison to hold the city.

Soon after this Siraj-ud-daulah had to march his forces against a pretender, Shaukat Jang, who laid claim to the throne. He was defeated and killed in October, 1756, at Haldibari in Behar.

Clive in Bengal

The refugees from Calcutta had halted at Falta, a few miles from Calcutta towards the south. There they were joined by a batch of their countrymen who had arrived from Madras under the command of Clive and Admiral Watson. Calcutta was reoccupied on 22nd of January, 1757. In less than two weeks' time Siraj-ud-daulah advanced towards Calcutta once more. His advance was intercepted by Clive who, after an encounter, was able to secure advantageous terms from him. The English got back Calcutta and were also promised compensation for losses and the right to fortify it. Clive also captured Chandernagore in March, 1757. It was a preventive measure against the French with whom the English were now at war. Siraj-ud-daulah had urged Bussy to come to Bengal from Hyderabad, but on hearing the news of the fall of Chandernagore he turned back at Ganjam.

Meanwhile some of the influential persons in the country Mir Ja'far Khan, Jagat Seth and Omichand joined in a conspiracy with the English to overthrow Siraj-ud-daulah. Mir Ja'far Khan, the commander-in-chief, was to be placed on the throne. When the negotiations reached a critical state Omichand, threatened to divulge the whole plot to the Nawwab unless he was paid 30 lakhs of rupees, ostensibly as a compensation for his supposed losses in the capture of Calcutta by the Nawwab but really as hush money. Clive met Omichand's threats by treachery. Two agreements were drawn up, one guaranteeing the sum to Omichand and the other without this clause, which was not shown to him. Admiral Watson refused to sign the forged document, but Clive had no such scruples.

Conspiracy against Siraj-ud-daulah

The conspiracy culminated in the battle of Plassey. Clive, who was at peace with the Nawwab, wrote to him that he was guilty of certain delinquencies, and without waiting for a reply began marching northwards. He had with him 1,100 Europeans and 2,100 sepoys while the Nawwab's army comprised 50,000 infantry and 18,000 horses. But Mir Ja'far, the commander-in-chief of the army, was in league with the enemy and took no part in the fighting. A small contingent of French artillerymen in the Nawwab's army, however, gave an excellent account of itself. Owing to the treachery of the commander-in-chief, Siraj-ud-daulah was forced to take to flight but fell into the hands of Mir Ja'far's men near Rajmahal and was put to death.

As was arranged among the conspirators Mir Ja'far was installed on the throne. He guaranteed to compensate the losses incurred by the Company and private traders in the capture of Calcutta. Clive, Drake, the governor, and other members of the Council received heavy sums as the price of their treachery to the late Nawwab, Clive alone receiving about 238 lakhs of rupees. Early in 1759

Mir Ja'far

the Crown Prince of Delhi invested Patna. Clive left Calcutta with 450 Europeans and 2,590 sepoys. The news of Clive's approach was sufficient to induce the Crown Prince to withdraw. Mir Ja'far rewarded Clive's services with the award of 24-parganas as jagir.

The Dutch viewed the English successes with misgivings. Towards the close of 1759 a Dutch fleet sailed up the Hugli in a threatening manner. Clive fell upon these boats and captured them and also defeated the Dutch on land.

Mir Qasim

In 1760 the Crown Prince who had now become the Emperor (Shah 'Aalm II) again invaded Behar and invested Patna. The army of the Nawwab and the English forced him to withdraw. The Bengal Council had just before this decided to depose Mir Ja'far and to instal Mir Qasim 'Ali on the throne. Mir Ja'far's promises to the English were still unfulfilled and in lieu of the outstanding sums Mir Qasim ceded to them the zamindari of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong. Like Mir Ja'far he had also to pay the members of the Council 29 lakhs of rupees as 'present' at his accession.

The new Nawwab proved to be a vigorous ruler, and within a year and a half he paid off the dues of the Company. The army was reduced in size but its training and discipline were improved. The capital was transferred to Monghyr to be farther away from Calcutta. He was a man of strong will and firm determination. He would not tolerate the high-handed attitude of the English and complained to them that their *gumashtas* allowed no power to his officers. Matters were brought to a crisis by the rapacity of the Company's servants who supplemented their low salaries by private trade. The Company enjoyed the privilege of paying no customs duty on imports and exports. Since Plassey its servants had abused this privilege by claiming it for internal trade and by permitting Indo-Pakistani traders to fly the flag of the Company and thus avoid payment. The

result was that the public exchequer suffered heavily. Mir Qasim protested in vain and was ultimately left with no option but to abolish all internal dues. The English were not prepared even for this measure because it placed them at par with the Indo-Pakistanis. These circumstances led to war. Mir Qasim's forces were defeated. Monghyr fell to the English and he was forced to take refuge in Oudh.

Next year he returned to Behar with the Nawwab Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor Shah 'Alam. The allies met the English near Buxar in 1764 and fought a contested battle which, however, ended in their defeat.

Grant of diwani

In 1763 Mir Ja'far had been placed on the throne a second time. He was an aged man now and died in February, 1765. Clive returned from England in the following May. He was definitely of the opinion that the Company's possessions should not extend beyond Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He wanted Oudh to serve as a buffer state between the British and the Marathas. Since the defeat of the forces of the allies at Buxar, the Emperor had been living almost as a pensioner of the British, while Oudh paid to them an indemnity of 50 lakhs. Clive met the Emperor, Shah 'Alam, in August, 1765, and secured from him the *diwani* or the right of collection of the revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

In return he promised to pay to the *Padshah* 26 lakhs of rupees, and to the Nawwab Nazim of Bengal 53 lakhs for the upkeep of the *nizamat* or the civil administration. Clive was convinced of the need of legalising the power that the British had been enjoying *de facto* since the battle of Plassey. This would disarm the opposition of his own countrymen as well as of the other European Powers.

Clive's Reforms

It is interesting to note that Clive who had been mainly responsible for the evil traditions of accepting enormous sums as presents was now entrusted

with the task of reforming the Company's servants. Consequently during his second term as governor between 1765 and 1767 he issued orders against the acceptance of presents. He also proposed the abolition of private trade by the Company's servants, but as his proposal to raise their low salaries was turned down by the home authorities, this did not have the desired effect. He also put a stop to the system of extra pay known as double *bhatta* paid to the army since Plassey. There was almost an open rebellion against Clive in the civil as well as the military establishment of the Company. The rebellion which was confined to white men only was crushed by stern measures. The men in the Company's services were surprised by this shameless audacity of a corrupt man. Clive had himself accepted heavy sums in the form of presents which had enabled him to buy estates and win a parliamentary seat, and now he played the part of a reformer of other people's morals.

Abuses in the administration

The few years between Clive and Warren Hastings are a dark chapter in the annals of the British. The British received the revenues formally while the actual administration, including the collection of revenue was in Indo-Pakistani hands. The divorce of power from responsibility was the cause of the financial ruin of the people. The local agents rack-rented the peasantry as they had no responsibility. When once the famine occurred many government servants were found hoarding grain for pecuniary gain. One-third of the total population was swept away; many flourishing villages were reduced to mere wilderness. The famine was a great eye-opener. Englishmen at home were roused from their complacence. The Parliament directed enquiries into the affairs of Bengal.

After placing the Company's power on a solid formation Clive returned to his country in 1767. Here he had to face the opposition of his own countrymen, particularly in the Parliament. He put up a vigorous defence of his case, but was so

deeply disappointed by the attitude of the Parliament that he ended his life by committing suicide.

Estimate of Clive

Clive undoubtedly holds an eminent position in the history of Great Britain, for it was through his efforts that the English East India Company secured predominance in Deccan and Bengal. With this beginning it started on the path of founding an empire in the East. Throughout his career as a soldier, an officer and ultimately the head of the government, Clive gave proof of the qualities of a brave fighter and far-sighted ruler. On all moments of crisis his fertile mind provided him with ready solutions of difficulties, although in not a few cases the methods adopted were devoid of moral considerations. His dealings with the Indo-Pakistani princes, particularly with the Nawwabs of Bengal, were marked by treachery and fraud. There was no limit to his greed and the manner in which he satisfied it was simply reprehensible. In fact in accepting bribes in the form of presents he had left behind him an evil tradition which was to continue for many years to come and was to spoil the little reputation that his countrymen had in this sub-continent. The violation of solemn treaties and promises and the extortion of money by methods of a very questionable character were characteristic features of the Company's government as well as the responsible officers serving it for quite a long period of time. The natural result of the traditions left by him and followed by his countrymen was gross mal-administration in the affairs of the Company. Five years later when Warren Hastings took over charge of the government of Bengal he had to introduce a number of reforming measures to undo the evil and put the administration of the province on a sound footing.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

EXPANSION OF BRITISH POWER

In 1772, Warren Hastings came as governor of Bengal. He sought to evolve an orderly government out of chaos. It was decided that the British should 'stand forth as *diwan*' and take upon themselves the entire care and management of revenues. Moḥammad Raḍa Khan and Shitab Rai were removed from their posts of *naib nazims* of Bengal and Behar, and a Revenue Board was set up at Calcutta. The actual collection of revenue was made by district collectors who were assisted by Indo-Pakistani officials called *amils*. Zamindaris were put up for auction on five years basis with the result that old zamindars lost their position and properties. Warren Hastings, therefore, reverted to the practice of annual settlements. With a view to economy in the expenditure of the government, Hastings took the dishonest step of violating the Company's treaties with the Emperor and the Nawwab by withholding the promised tribute to the former and drastically cutting down the allowance of the latter.

The judicial administration also needed considerable reform. Accordingly civil and criminal courts were established in the districts. The collector presided over the civil courts and merely saw to it that the decisions in the criminal courts were fair. Warren Hastings wanted to introduce some forms and practices of English law without disturbing the existing laws and customs unless grossly repugnant to English ideas.

Rohilla War

The Rohillas were a brave Pathan people who had settled in the region known as Rohilkhand. The Marathas had begun to threaten them with an invasion from about 1770. In 1772, a treaty was concluded between the Rohillas and Oudh. The ruler of Oudh agreed to help the Rohillas in expelling the Maratha raiders in return for a promise of 40 lakhs of rupees. In 1773, the Marathas appeared on the frontiers of Rohilkhand. The forces of Oudh made a demonstration on which the raiders withdrew.

Oudh demanded payment, but the Rohillas objected on the ground that her forces were not actually engaged in fighting against the Marathas. The Nawwab Wazir asked for the help of the English in conquering the Rohillas, and promised the Company a sum of 40 lakhs of rupees in return. A British army came to his help. The Rohillas were defeated and cruel treatment was meted out to them. Twenty thousand of them were banished. Their country was laid waste and hundreds of villages were reduced to ashes. There can be no doubt that the conduct of the Company's government in bringing about the destruction of a state which had never given any offence to it was most reprehensible and cannot be justified on any account. Hastings, at a later date, put forward the plea of securing his frontiers by keeping Oudh in the position of a buffer state. The argument that it was a step taken to strengthen the outer frontiers of Bengal is a mere eye-wash and cannot be accepted as justification for the atrocities perpetrated on the innocent people of Rohilkhand.

Regulating Act, 1773

In 1773, the Parliament intervened in the affairs of the Company and passed the Regulating Act. Warren Hastings was made Governor-General with some control over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. He was given a Council of four members who were named by the Parliament. A Supreme Court was created and Sir Elijah Impey became the Chief Justice with judicial control over all British subjects in the country. All official despatches from the sub-continent were directed to be submitted to the British Government.

The Regulating Act has rightly been declared to be one of the most important of parliamentary enactments respecting the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It was the first step taken by the British Government to give the Company's territories in this sub-continent what one may call a 'constitution'. As was but

natural it had all those defects which could be expected in a constitution prepared by a body absolutely ignorant of the conditions prevailing in the country for which it was intended. Besides there were other defects of a technical nature which made its practical working difficult. Its provisions were 'obscure and defective as to the nature and extent of the authority to be exercised by the Governor-General and his Council, as to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and as to the relation between the Bengal Government and the Court'.

Almost from the beginning the Council began to quarrel with Warren Hastings. Of the four members, three had newly arrived from England—Sir Phillip Francis, General Clavering and Colonel Monson. These three were opposed to him; and only Richard Barwell took his side. The Council began to obstruct Hastings in every possible way and even entertained complaints against the Governor-General. A charge of corruption was brought by one Maharaja Nandkumar against him. But before this matter could be decided, Maharaja Nandkumar was found guilty of forgery by the Supreme Court and executed by the sentence of the Chief Justice Impey who happened to be a personal friend of Hastings. It is difficult to believe that Nandkumar lost his life because of the offence with which he was charged. Indeed his trial was nothing more than a judicial farce. It was rushed through in great haste and the Court awarded punishment according to the provisions of English law which was not in force in this sub-continent at that time.

Warren Hastings had also had a quarrel with the Supreme Court, whose jurisdiction was not clearly defined by the Regulating Act, and which began to assert its authority over courts outside Calcutta.

It began to assert its jurisdiction over courts outside Calcutta. The dispute was brought to an end by Hastings who appointed Impey the head of the *Sadr Diwani 'Adalat*.

Hastings was not in favour of a policy of annexation; and during his long term of office the only annexations made were the small islands of Elephanta and Salsette near Bombay and the districts of Banaras and Ghazipur. The wars that he had to fight against the Marathas and Ḥaidar 'Ali were forced on him by the bungling of Madras and Bombay.

War with the Marathas

In 1775, the Bombay Government concluded a treaty at Surat with Raghoba, one of the claimants to the disputed office of the Peshwa, and occupied Bassein and the islands of Salsette which Raghoba had promised to cede to the Company for supporting his cause. Hastings' Council disapproved of the action of the Bombay Government and sent Col. Upton to Poona. He concluded the Treaty of Purandhar and retained only Salsette (1776). A few months later came a despatch from the Directors approving the treaty of Surat. Hastings decided to bring the war to a finish. It was a long and tiresome war which almost exhausted the resources of the British in the sub-continent. Col. Camac who acted as Political Officer with the army lost courage and entered into a disgraceful agreement known as the Convention of Wargaon (1777). The fortunes of the English however began to brighten up about 1780. Gaddard completed his brilliant march across the sub-continent from Bengal, and Popham captured Gwalior. The war was concluded in 1782 by the Treaty of Salbai according to which only Salsette was retained.

About 1780, Warren Hastings was in the thick of wars and had little money. In these extreme circumstances he resorted to very questionable means of extorting money from all possible sources.

Chait Singh of Banaras

Raja Chait Singh of Banaras was a feudatory chief who paid an annual subsidy to the East India Company. In 1778, Hastings made an extra demand over and above the usual sum. This was repeated in the two following years. Chait Singh was

forced to pay these heavy sums in addition to fines imposed on him for his alleged effort to evade payment. At last when Chait Singh delayed in sending a contingent of troops which was demanded of him in 1781, Hastings fined him 50 lakhs of rupees and went up to Banaras and ordered his arrest. The Raja's troops could not bear this insult of their chief and rose in rebellion. Hastings had to flee to Chunar from where he directed operations against the Raja. Chait Singh was unable to resist the pressure of an attack and left Banaras. Hastings deposed him and placed his nephew upon the *gaddi*.

Begums of Oudh

In 1781, Hastings extorted money from the Begums of Oudh. The Nawwab Wazir of Oudh was in arrears with his subsidy to the British. When Warren Hastings insisted that these should be paid immediately the Nawwab pointed to his mother and grandmother who possessed great wealth. These ladies had previously paid huge sums to the Nawwab under a guarantee from the British that no further demands would be made. Hastings now withdrew that guarantee and by persecuting their servants forced the Begums to part with huge sums. This conduct of the Governor-General in extorting money from the ladies has been rightly condemned by a number of writers including some of his own countrymen.

Pitt's India Act, 1784

In England Prime Minister Pitt had a law passed in 1784 known as Pitt's India Act. The supervision of Indian affairs was vested in a board of six commissioners appointed by the Parliament, the President being a Secretary of State.

The Governor-General was given definite control over Bombay and Madras in matters of wars, finance and diplomacy. The Governor-General's Council was reduced to three members. Hastings, however, relinquished charge of his office and left for England in February, 1785.

Warren Hastings was impeached for his misdeeds. His trial began in the House of Lords and lasted for over seven

years, but in the end Hastings was acquitted of all charges in spite of the impassioned pleadings of great orators like Burke, Fox and Sheridan. Hastings' acquittal does not mean that he was really innocent. In fact few Englishmen have a record as black as that of Hastings. His guilt in the case of Nandkumar's execution, his treatment of the Raja of Banaras and the Begums of Oudh and his share in the destruction of the Rohillas are political crimes of the first magnitude, for which Hastings remains condemned in the eyes of impartial writers of history.

John Macpherson succeeded Hastings and remained in office for a year and a half. The next Governor-General was Lord Cornwallis, a man of the highest probity and without any personal ambition. He was a soldier who had fought in the American War of Independence.

Reforms of Cornwallis

Cornwallis tried to reform the administration. He introduced the practice of giving generous pay to government employees and abolished their claim to commissions on revenue. He separated judiciary from the executive by depriving the collectors of districts of their judicial functions and confining their duties to revenue administration. He created a regular hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. Four provincial courts with British judges were set up at Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad and Calcutta. These were placed under the jurisdiction of the *Sadr Diwani 'Adalat* and *Sadr Nizamat 'Adalat*. Muslim criminal law was administered, though in a modified form. The laws were given the form of a regular code by Sir George Barlow.

Permanent Settlement

Cornwallis's name, however, is best remembered in Bengal as the person who had introduced the Permanent Settlement. After taking over the *diwani* the Company introduced the system of annual settlement of revenues. This practice was replaced by the quinquennial settlement in 1772, but in 1777 the annual

settlements were reintroduced. All these experiments had proved to be defective in one way or the other. In 1789, Cornwallis gave effect to the scheme of decennial settlement to ensure regular revenue collection. This settlement was made permanent in 1793. It secured to the Government a fixed income on which to base expenditure. The system continued down to our own times, and it is only recently the East Bengal Assembly abolished the Permanent Settlement, because it was against the interests of the cultivators who form the vast majority of the population.

Third Mysore War

In 1790, Cornwallis went to war with Mysore. An account of the war is given in the next chapter.

Sir John Shore

The next Governor-General was Sir John Shore. He adopted a policy of strict non-intervention so that when the Nizam, with whom the English had a treaty of alliance, was attacked and badly defeated by the Marathas, he failed to come to his assistance. This greatly lowered the prestige of the English.

Wellesley

Lord Mornington, better known as Wellesley, came out to Hind-Pakistan in 1798. He was determined to break the power of Tipu Sulṭan and decided to abandon the policy of non-intervention. He devised the famous system known as the Subsidiary Alliance. By this method he extended the Company's control over those of the Indo-Pakistani States which agreed to sign the alliance. The local provinces were to pay a subsidy for the maintenance of British forces which were stationed in their States for their protection and the defence of their territory. They had to dismiss all foreigners and could have no dealings with outside powers. The Nizam was one of the princes who accepted such an alliance. The Marathas also joined the English, although they did not sign the subsidiary alliance. Having formed these alliances, Wellesley declared war on Mysore which ended in

the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan. A part of the State was annexed to the Company's dominions and a small remnant restored to a member of the old Hindu family of Mysore rulers.

Wellesley also assumed control to Tanjore, Surat and the Carnatic. He later coerced Oudh to cede half her territories including Rohilkhand and the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges. Wellesley exerted so much pressure that the Nawwab Wazir proposed to abdicate. Wellesley welcomed it but the Wazir withdrew the offer. Nevertheless Wellesley continued his pressure and Oudh had to cede half her dominions and to increase her subsidy.

Maratha War

On the last day of 1802, the *Peshwa* entered the subsidiary alliance in order to save himself from the rivalry of his supposed vassals. The Sindhia and the Bhonslah resented this step. It was under these circumstances that the English and the Marathas began to fight. The British forcer divided themselves into two sections; Col. Arthur Wellesley operated in the Deccan and Lord Lake in the north. The Sindhia and the Bhonslah were decisively defeated at Assaye in September, 1802: the Bhonslah was again defeated at Argaon in November, 1803. In the north Lord Lake defeated Sindhia at Laswari in November, 1803.

After these reverses Sindhia and the Bhonslah signed two treaties at Surji-Arjangaon and at Deogaon. Sindhia had to cede Broach and Ahmadnagar in the Deccan and all possessions above the Chambal in the north. The Bhonslah ceded Berar and Cuttak. Both powers surrendered claims to *chauth* and agreed to dismiss the French officers.

Holkar, who had so far kept out of the conflict, was now involved in a war with the English, which was declared by Wellesley in 1804. The British forces met with some reverses and there was a loud outcry in England against Wellesley's policy of war. He was recalled in 1805.

Wellesley's policy

Wellesley was an imperialist. He aimed at making Britain the suzerain over the whole of the sub-continent and very nearly realised his dream by forcing the Nizam and the *Peshwa* to sign the subsidiary alliance, crushing Mysore and snatching half of Oudh. He built Government House at Calcutta to impress the people. He founded For William College at Calcutta to train persons for service. They were to receive their basic education in England and then complete it by a course in the languages and customs of the sub-continent. He was the haughtiest and most dictatorial Governor-General who ever come to the sub-continent. He would issue instructions even to his younger brother couched in the most insolent language, He had come at a critical moment in the history of the Empire. Napoleon had reached Egypt in his march towards the east. When Wellesley reached Calcutta, he found Tipu Sultan trying to form an alliance with the French and almost every princely court full of French generals engaged in training the local armies. He allied himself with the weakest among the bigger princes, the Nizam, destroyed the power of Mysore, defeated the Maratha confederacy, reduced the power of the *Peshwa* and coerced Sindhia and Holkar to cede extensive territories. His work was completed by Lord Hastings who totally destroyed the Maratha power.

Sir George Barlow

Wellesley was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis who arrived in 1805. But he was now old and broken in health and died within a few months of his arrival here. Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Governor-General's Council, succeeded him and pursued a policy of non-intervention. He made peace with Holkar on very favourable terms and withdrew protection from the Rajput states which weie left at the mercy of the Maratha freebooters and the hordes of Amir Khan.

Two mutinies occurred in the time of Sir George Barlow. The sepoys at Vellore rose in revolt as a protest against certain directions regarding military uniform and the wearing of hair, which they took as an attack on religion. As some relations of Tipu Sultan were living at the place the Government suspected connection between their presence and the mutiny.

Lord Minto

Lord Minto succeeded Barlow in 1807 and continued the policy of non-intervention. The result was that Rajputana and Central India became scenes of absolute lawlessness. Amir Khan and his followers began to extend their depredations over the entire region and even threatened Nagpur. But Lord Minto soon realized that the policy of non-intervention was unsuited to the conditions prevailing in the sub-continent. Minto, therefore, took decisive steps to restore order in Bundhelkhand and checked Amir Khan when he was about to attack Nagpur.

When Lord Minto came here the French Revolutionary Wars had entered a critical stage. Napoleon had reached the zenith of his power in 1807 and he had sent his emissaries to Persia. To counteract the danger Lord Minto sent out missions to Persia. Afghanistan, Sind and the Punjab. Persia and Afghanistan promised to oppose the French.

Treaty with Ranjit Singh

Ranjit Singh was at this time the unquestioned master of the Punjab. He was born in 1780, and by 1800 he was able to unite the various Sikh *misls* into a strong State. At first he held the office of governor of the Punjab under the Afghan ruler, but in 1801 he declared his independence. After having consolidated his position in the Panjab and conquered Kashmir, he began to cast covetous eyes on the Doab, east of the Sutlaj. The Sikh States of the East Punjab sought the protection of the British. Under the shadow of a possible Napoleonic invasion, the British sent a young officer, Metcalfe, to Ranjit Singh in 1809. He was able to conclude a treaty at Amritsar with Ranjit Singh

by which the latter agreed not to meddle in the affairs of the East Punjab.

Lord Minto had a good grasp of the military and political situation. The French had long preyed on British shipping from the Mauritius and neighbouring islands in the Indian Ocean. He sent a fleet and captured Mauritius. He also sent out a naval expedition to the Dutch island of Java and himself accompanied the expedition. Java was occupied but was restored when a general peace followed the Napoleonic wars.

The Company's Charter was renewed for another term of 20 years in 1813. The Company was allowed to retain its monopoly of trade in China while trade with the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was thrown open to all.

Lord Hastings

Lord Minto was succeeded by Lord Moira better known by his later title of Marquis of Hastings in 1813. He held the office of Governor-General till 1823. He completed the work of Wellesley and forced almost every power in the sub-continent to recognise the paramountcy of the British. He fought three big wars; against the Gurkhas, the Pindaris and the Marathas.

Gurkha War

The Gurkhas had made themselves masters of Nepal whose boundaries ran along the British frontiers for about 700 miles. They made occasional raids into the British territories. Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto had remonstrated against this. But they paid no heed to the British protests. This led to a war in 1814. The Britsh had no experience of mountain warfare and the Gurkhas were unusually tough fighters. In the beginning the British met with reverses. But at last General Ochterlony captured some hill forts and advanced to threaten Khatmandu, the capital. In 1816, the war was concluded by the treaty of Sagauli. The British secured the hill stations of Almora, Nainital, Simla and Mussoorie and a British resident was accepted at Khatmandu.

The Pindaris

The Pindaris constituted another menace which Lord Hastings had to face. They were a mixed horde of Hindus and Muslims, Marathas and Pathans. They operated from central India and the Narbada regions and moved rapidly in large and small groups, often on horse-back. They took the fullest advantage of the absence of a strong government after the fall of the Mughul Empire. They were loosely attached to the armies of the Sindhia and Holkar. In 1815, the Pindaris ravaged extensive areas in the Nizam's dominion. Men and women often burned themselves to escape the brutalities of these plunderers.

Hastings wanted to destroy these bands but his own Council opposed him for some time. At long last Hastings gathered the largest army so far collected, 1,12,000 strong, and in 1817 invaded their strongholds from several directions. Hastings himself led the army in the north. The Pindari bands were dispersed and many of them settled down as peaceful peasants; Amir Khan, their leader, became the Nawwab of Tonk; Karim Khan, another leader, was given an estate; Chitu, the most notorious of the Pindari chiefs, was killed by a tiger.

The third Maratha War

Simultaneously with the Pindari War commenced the Third Maratha War. The previous defeats of the Marathas at the hands of the English had made them restive. We have seen how closely the Sindhia and the Holkar were associated with the Pindaris whose defeat could not but provoke the Marathas into a war. The murder of a minister of the Gaekwar by the connivance of the *Peshwa* led to war between the English and the *Peshwa* in 1817. The Holkar and the Bhonslah also took up arms in the course of the year. The *Peshwa* was defeated by the British Residency force at Kirki, near Poona, in November, 1817. The Bhonslah was defeated in the same month at Sitabaldi. In December Holkar was defeated at Mahidpur. The *Peshwa*, Baji Rao II, surrendered on the promise of a pension of eight lakhs of rupees. Hastings carved out of the *Peshwa's* dominions

a small State, called Satara, and bestowed it upon a descendant of Shivaji. Sindhia and Holkar were allowed to retain their States although they were considerably reduced in size. Thus the two great dangers—the Pindaris and Marathas—were overcome. After this British supremacy in the sub-continent became an established fact. Hastings completed the task that Wellesley had begun.

After Hastings, Mr. Adam, the senior member of the Council, acted as Governor-General for several months. He passed a regulation restricting the freedom of the press by making licence compulsory for the possession of a press or for the publication of a book.

First Burmese War

The next Governor-General was Lord Amherst. The most important event of his regime was the First Burmese War.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a new dynasty was founded in Burma by an adventurer named Alompra. It had subjugated Burma and Assam and by the beginning of the nineteenth century began to encroach on British territory. In 1823, the British occupied a small disputed island on the border. This led to war. The Burmese had a fine general in Bandula who successfully resisted British advance through Assam and Arakan. A British army went by sea to Lower Burma. The war lasted exactly two years and cost many British lives. The treaty of Yandaboo ended the war and the provinces of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed to British territory. Manipur became independent.

In 1825, there was some trouble at Bharatpur. A child ruler accepted by the British was displaced by his intriguing cousin. A British force was ordered to proceed towards Bharatpur. In January, 1826, the fortress fell. It had defied British arms in 1805, and therefore its fall greatly enhanced the prestige of the British. After Amherst a period of peace and internal reform followed.

CHAPTER XXXIX

EFFORTS AT REVIVAL

After the death of 'Alamgir the Mughul Emperor grew weaker and weaker; by the middle of the eighteenth century the authority of the Emperor had become nominal. Not only in the provinces, even in the capital all power was in the hands of the nobles who themselves were not united. Everybody was in the grip of selfishness and personal aggrandisement, and excepting one or two nobles no one cared for the interests of the people. The atmosphere of the Court had been completely spoiled by factionalism and internecine struggles; emperor, and courtiers were alike incapable of reform. The Marathas took full advantage of these conditions. The Deccan and some parts of the north had already suffered the terrors of their plundering raids, Balaji Baji Rao sent several of his officers at the head of large armies to establish Maratha power in the northern part of the subcontinent. In 1756, Malhar Rao Holkar and Raghunath Rao were sent one after the other, and subsequently a party of the Mughul nobles also joined them. Among the Muslims there were only two nobles who were ready to stake even their lives to stop the growing tide of the Maratha power. They believed that the supremacy of the Marathas would mean nothing but the destruction of the Muslim State and even the Islamic way of life. Of these two leaders, Niẓamul Mulk died in the Deccan in 1748; the other, Najib-ud-daulah carried on the struggle against the Marathas in the north throughout his life. Rising from an ordinary position Najid-ud-daulah had ultimately become not only the leader of his kinsmen, the Rohillas, but also the right hand man of the Emperor himself. To break the Maratha power he tried on the one hand to win over the other nobles to his point of view, and on the other to extend his whole-heasted support to Aḥmad Shah Abdali at the time of his invasion.

Ahmad Shah Abdali

Aḥmad Shah Abdali was a famous general of Nadir Shah. On the latter's assassination he established his authority over Afghanistan and started invading the sub-continent soon after his accession. His first attack in 1744 ended in failure because Aḥmad Shah, heir-apparent of the Mughul Emperor, routed the Afghan invaders. Hardly two years had passed when Abdali carried out his second raid and returned to his country after plundering a part of the Punjab. In 1751 he led another attack and seized the territories of the Punjab and Kashmir. In 1756, however, the Mughul *wazir*, 'Imadul Mulk, reconquered and reannexed the Punjab to the Empire. This was an open challenge to Abdali. He made elaborate arrangements and reached Delhi by forced marches. The Mughul Empire was took weak to resist him, hence the Emperor formally ceded to him the territories of Kashmir, Sind and Sirhind. With the help of Najib-ud-daulah, Abdali also gained a victory over the Marathas, near Delhi. On his recommendation the Emperor reinstated 'Imadul Mulk as *wazir* and appointed Najib-ud-daulah as *wakil*, who enjoyed the real power in the administration. Abdali left the Punjab in the charge of his own son, Timur Shah.

Najib-ud-daulah

After Abdali's departure Najib-ud-daulah's influence increased considerably and the Emperor placed in his hands the affairs of the entire territory surrounding Delhi. But it was not long before the Emperor turned against him and joined hands with 'Imadul Mulk, who had in the meantime allied himself with the Marathas, to crush Najib-ud-daulah. The Marathas took advantage of this, marched from Agra and took possession of the Doab. In August, 1757 they attacked Delhi itself, and because 'Imadul Mulk was already in league with them, they had no difficulty in capturing it, Najib-ud-daulah too was now forced to come to terms with them. Now it was 'Imadul Mulk who had the greatest influence

at the Court but he was a mere puppet in the hands of the Marathas. Having seized Delhi, Malhar Rao and Raghunath Rao now proceeded towards the Punjab. Timur Shah not being in a position to offer them resistance with his tiny force, they captured Sirhind and Lahore in 1758. But they did not stay there for long and came back after appointing Adina Beg as their governor.

The third battle of Panipat

The inevitable result of Maratha encroachments in the Punjab was a clash with Aḥmad Shah Abdali The latter soon marched into the Punjab and expelled the Marathas. As the Marathas had made the life of the Muslims of Delhi unbearable, Najib-ud-daulah and his other companions went over to Abdali on his arrival, Najib-ud-daulah's efforts had brought Shuja'-ud-daulah, the Nawwab of Oudh, also to the side of the invaders. The Marathas tried to win Shuja'-ud-daulah over, but now it had become clear to everyone that the victory of the Marathas would mean nothing but anarchy and plunder.

The *Peshwa* despatched Sudashiv Rao Bhao to oppose Abdali. Bhao, marching on the borders of East Rajputana reached Delhi and captured it. In November, 1760 the Marathas and Muslim forces stood facing each other in the battlefield of Panipat. Abdali's army was sixty thousand strong. Shuja'-ud-daulah and Najib-ud-daulah were also with him. Najib-ud-daulah rendered extremely valuable service in this battle. He helped the Afghans with money as well as by sending a contingent of fifteen thousand soldiers. The other Rohilla chiefs, Ḥafiẓ Raḥmat Khan, Dundey Khan and Sa'dullah Khan also came to their help through his efforts. Indeed Najib-ud-daulah realized full well that if the Marathas came out victorious in this decisive battle the limited prestige that the Muslim and the Mughul Empire still enjoyed would be lost for ever and the Marathas would spread all over the sub-continent like a swarm of locusts. Najib-ud-daulah, therefore, acted with great patience,

tact and statesmanship. For some time only petty skirmishes were fought. But the difficulties of the Marathas were multiplying with the passage of time; their provisions were running short and the strict vigilance of the Afghan detachments had made fresh supplies impossible; Bhao begged for peace, but this was vehemently opposed by Najib-ud-daulah in Shah Abdali's war council.

Result of the battle of Panipat

On the morning of January 14, 1761, fighting began. The initiative was taken by the Marathas, whose left wing under Ibrahim Khan Gardi launched a fierce attack. Bhao himself pushed back the centre of the Afghan army, which was led by Shah Wali Khan. The battle had now reached its climax and both the parties were making a determined effort to win the upper hand. Just at this moment Aḥmad Shah attacked the centre and the left wing of the Marathas with a fresh army of thirteen thousand soldiers. This unexpected blow broke the spirit of the Maratha army. When Aḥmad Shah found the enemy showing signs of weakness, he ordered his musketeers to attack the wings of the Maratha army. At two o'clock the *Peshwa's* son, Vishwas Rao, died of a bullet shot. Bhao was also killed. Thus by 3 p.m. the Marathas began to lose ground. The Afghans rushed at them from all sides and by sunset huge piles of their dead appeared on the scene. It is estimated that more than thirty thousand Maratha soldiers lost their lives. The Marathas had never suffered such a disastrous defeat in their whole history. Several of their chiefs were killed and there was hardly a family in Marathas which had not lost one or the other of its members. For the *Peshwa*, the shock was so great that he died within a few months of this disaster.

This defeat broke the backbone of the Maratha people, and all their schemes vanished into thin air. After some time they, no doubt, recovered partially, but the loss was never really made up. The defeat of the Marathas enabled the Hindus and

the Muslims of north Hind-Pakistan to live in peace for some time. The power of the Maratha Centre was crushed for ever and the position of the *Peshwa* suffered a severe set-back.

After this victory Aḥmad Shah returned to his country in 1762. In 1764 and 1767 he had to attack the Punjab again to punish the Sikhs. The successive invasions weakened the Mughul Empire and its decline became more rapid. Another result of Aḥmad Shah's interference in the affairs of the Punjab was that after Abdali's successors became weak, it was easy for the Sikhs to establish their supremacy in that province.

Najib-ud-daulah's rise to power

At the time of his departure Abdali had left instructions to the effect that the sovereignty of Shah 'Alam should be acknowledged by all, that 'Imadul Mulk should get the *wizarat* and Najib-ud-daulah the office of *mir-bakhshi.* Taking advantage of the Emperor's differences with 'Imadul Mulk, Najib-ud-daulah enhanced his own influence considerably. He held the three posts of *mir-bakhshi-i-mumalik*, *faujdar* of Delhi and *mukhtar-i-sulṭanat* at one and the same time. The Jat chief, Suraj Mal, and 'Imadul Mulk were anxious to weaken his hold but they could not succeed in their designs. Najib-ud-daulah had full authority over Delhi and its neighbourhood. He performed his duties energetically and with success. But his task was exceedingly hard, for he had to fight against the Jats and the Sikhs almost incessantly and look to the administration of the Empire at the same time. Suraj Mal marched on Delhi but was killed in the battle. His son, Jawahar Singh, led an attack with a combined force of the Jats, the Sikhs and the contingent of 'Imadul Mulk. Najib-ud-daulah completely routed this host, and thus gained the most brilliant of his victories. Gradually he brought under his control the region lying in the north-west of Delhi and put a check to the Sikh raids on that side. In 1770, the Marathas again invaded the Doab. Acting in a shrewd manner and utilizing his friendship with Tukaji

Holkar Najib-ud-daulah thwarted the ambitous designs of the Marathas and kept them as well as the Jats in check as long as he was alive. Under his government both the Hindus and Muslims lived in peace and security. Hard work in connection with the affairs of administration and ceaseless fighting had adversely affected his health. He died on 31st October, 1770, near Hapur. His last order addressed to his army was that Hindu pilgrims to the fair of Garh Muktesar should not be harassed by anybody.

Muslims' effort in the south

In the north Najib-ud-daulah was trying to re-establish the declining prestige of the Muslims; in the east Siraj-ud-daulah and Mir Qasim were playing a leading role in the struggle for freedom; in the south Haidar 'Ali and his son Tipu Sulṭan had taken upon themselves the responsibility of this mighty task. The result of the decline of power at Delhi was that the Niẓam set up a separate state in the south. The Marathas also tried to widen the sphere of their authority, while the British cleverly continued to extend their influence by slow stages. The French were the rivals of the British, and through their mutual hostility the two became inextricably involved in the quarrels of the Indo-Pakistan rajas and nawwabs.

In 1749-50 Ḥaidar 'Ali became prominent as a soldier for the first time. In Mysore the raja was merely a nominal head, the real power being in the hands of two brothers, Devaraja and Nandraja. Ḥaider 'Ali exhibited great bravery on the field of battle and had on one occasion tactfully saved the life of Nandraja. In the course of these wars Haider greatly added to the strength of his own contingents. In 1755 the government of Mysore gave its recognition to his ability by conferring upon him the *faujdari* of the fort of Dindigul (in Madura).

Haidar 'Ali's rise

Two years later Mysore had to face a new calamity. It was suddenly attacked by the Marathas and in the State itself the situation had begun to

deteriorate as a result of mutal hostility between Devaraja and Nandraja. The soldiers of the army were on the verge of mutiny because they had not received their pay. At this critical moment the only person in the State who could control its affairs was Haidar 'Ali; hence the raja placed the entire charge of the army in his hands. He took immediate steps to guard the country against the Marathas and forced them to go back. The raja rewarded Ḥaider 'Ali by giving him the title of *Fath Bahadur*. Nandraja's domination had now become intolerable to the raja. He was removed through the agency of Ḥaidar 'Ali's trusted officer, Khandey Rao. The authority of the government thus came into his (Haidar 'Ali's) hands, Khandey Rao had risen to power under Ḥaidar 'Ali but he proved disloyal to his patron and joind hands with the Raja and the Maharani in a plot against him. Ḥaidar 'Ali was attacked suddenly, but he was able to manage to escape, reaching Bangalore. For a time Ḥaider 'Ali's star remained clouded, but he faced the situation courageously and ultimatcly succeeded in subduing Khandey Rao and re-establishing his authority. The entire control of government was now in the hands of Ḥaider 'Ali although the Raja continued to occupy the throne. Ḥaider 'Ali discharged his new responsibilities with great ability. Taking advantage of the prevailing anarchy in the south, he added fresh territories to Mysore. In short he changed the petty State of Mysore into a powerful and extensive kingdom which continued to face the opposition of its enemies and play a leading role in the politics of the Deccan for a period of thirty years. The rise of Ḥaidar 'Ali, however was like a thorn in the eyes of his neighbour.

Struggle with the neighbouring States

In 1766 the Marathas made preparation for an invasion of Mysore. The Niẓam was also won over by them, and he concluded a pact with the British for a joint attack on Mysore. Ḥaidar 'Ali was defeated by the Marathas, but the Niẓam got nothing out of their victory.

The First Mysor War

Ḥaidar 'Ali held the view, which ultimately proved to be correct, that the enemy was the Britisher and finally the issue would have to be settled with him. He entered into friendly relations with the French, secured the alliance of the Niẓam, and then launched an attack on the British. The Niẓam, however, feared the English and deserted his ally at the very outset of the war. Ḥaidar 'Ali continued to fight courageously against the enemy. In this war he exhibited a remarkable capacity in the art of war rendering the British general helpless. Marching on triumphantly against the British forces and defeating them time and again he reached the walls of Madras in the beginning of 1769. The Government of Madras was forced to lay down arms. It was the first time the Company had been obliged to sue for peace with an Indo-Pakistan power. Ḥaidar 'Ali showed extraordinary leniency and mildness in the course of negotiations. The war captives and conquered territories were restored by both parties and it was agreed that each would help the other by sending military forces in case of attack by a third power. This treaty was concluded in March, 1769. Ḥaidar 'Ali's hands were barely free from this campaign when the Marathas began to prepare for an attack on his country, for the agents of the Company had all along been inciting the Marathas against him. The Niẓam, however, promised help to Ḥaidar 'Ali.

At the close of 1769 a large Maratha army commanded by Madho Rao invaded Mysore. The Niẓam once again deserted Ḥaidar 'Ali at a critical moment. The British also openly went back upon their promise and did not raise a finger to help him. The Marathas proceeding by forced marches arrived in the vicinity of Seringapatam, and Ḥaidar was forced to take shelter behind the walls of its fortress. The Marathas desecrated the Vishnu temple of Malukot, plundered its valuables and set fire

to the building. They besieged the fort of Seringapatam, but failed to capture it. After some time negotiations were started, as a result of which Ḥaidar 'Ali promised to cede a part of his territory and pay seven lakhs as war indemnity. He paid half the amount immediately.

Haidar 'Ali's success

As the British had deceived Ḥaidar 'Ali at a critical moment, he had naturally become their bitter enemy. No other state in the sub-continent tried to check the growing tide of British influence more resolutely than Mysore under Ḥaidar 'Ali and his son, Tipu Sultan. Ḥaidar 'Ali had started his conquests by subduing and annexing the state of Coorg. He recovered from the Marathas all those territories which they had recently seized. In 1775 he captured Maratha territory right up to the bank of the Krishna. The Marathas declared war against him; the Niẓam supported the Government of Poona. But even their combined forces could not harm him. They were defeated by his general, Muḥammad 'Ali, and forced to retire from Mysore. Since the tributary chief of Chituldrug had failed to come to the help of Ḥaidar 'Ali, he seized the well-defended fort and deposed him from the *gaddi*. The Nawwab of Kuddapah was also removed and his territory was taken over for the same reason. The Company's breach of word had created disgust for the British in the mind of Ḥaidar, but, as has been admitted by English writers themselves, he acted with moderation and started negotiations for peace with the Government of Madras. The latter, however, acted in a foolish and dishonest manner, with the result that an alliance was made between him, the Niẓam and the Marathas against them. The Marathas had complaints against the British for their interference in their internal affairs, while the Niẓam had been unhappy because of their seizing Guntur. Had the Government of Madras behaved properly, matters could have still improved, but the British almost declared a war against Ḥaidar 'Ali by capturing the town

of Mahe which lay in his dominion. With the commencement of war in Europe the French also took up arms against the British. Thus began the Second Mysore War.

The Second Mysore War

In this way an extensive front was created against the Company, but there was only one strong link in this chain. The English won over all the allies except Haidar 'Ali; the Nizam deserted under a very slight pressure, while the Marathas backed out after one or two defeats. Ḥaidar 'Ali went on courageously, fighting alone. He defeated Col. Baillie and captured Arcot. Warren Hastings despatched Eyre Coote to oppose Ḥaidar 'Ali. Their struggle was evenly balanced, each party winning and losing battles in turn. In December 1881, Ḥaidar 'Ali died of a carbuncle: a few months later Coote also died.

Haider 'Ali's personality

Ḥaidar 'Ali started his life as an ordinary soldier, and by dint of his ability, hard work, courage and capacity continued to rise until he became the ruler of a state. He was by nature brave and war-like. He had not taken regular military training but his skill in the art of fighting was so great that the best generals of the time acknowledged his superiority. He was illiterate, but had a thorough grasp on the affairs of administration. He treated the Hindus with toleration. His first *diwan* was a Hindu and subsequently two ministerships were held by the Hindus. He was accessible to everyone and he supervised the affairs of the State personally. He was ever true to his word and strictly observed his agreements. Cheating and fraud were qualities never practised by him. He raised the petty principality of Mysore to the status of a powerful state and thus left a permanent name for himself in the history of Hind-Pakistan.

Tipu Sultan

Ḥaidar 'Ali's work was continued by his son and successor, Tipu Sultan. As he had taken an active part in the wars of the last few years of his father's

life, it was not difficult for him to take over the command of the army after his death. Tipu was only thirty years old at this time, but he gained a thorough experience in the art of government. In the field of battle, too, he established his reputation very soon, and captured the British commander with all his forces. With the conclusion of peace between England and France, the French officers and soldiers withdrew from the war; the British also were now tired of fighting. In November, 1783, Colonel Fullarton captured Coimbatore and marched on Seringapatam. Tipu also wanted peace so that he might devote his attention to the affairs of the State. According to the treaty of Mangalore, signed in March, 1784, both the parties agreed to restore the conquered territories and the captives taken in war.

Causes of the third Mysore War

The treaty of Mangalore was scarcely anything but a temporary truce. This was fully realized by both the parties. The strongest of Tipu's life-long feelings was his hatred for the British. He could not bear it for a moment that they should establish their government on Hind-Pakistan. He, therefore, made every possible effort to expel them from the sub-continent. He impressed upon his neighbours that the establishment of British supremacy would endanger the freedom of everybody. He sent envoys to Muslim countries to secure their sympathy and support, and started negotiations with the French. In short, he staked his very life in this struggle for freedom. The British also knew that neither the Nizam nor the Marathas counted as much as Tipu Sultan did, and they were fully conscious of the fact that they would not be able to achieve their object without destroying his power. The hostility of France had further endangered their position.

Tipu launched a campaign against the rebellious *zrmindars* of the territory lying between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. As these rebels had the support of the Marathas, *Tipu*

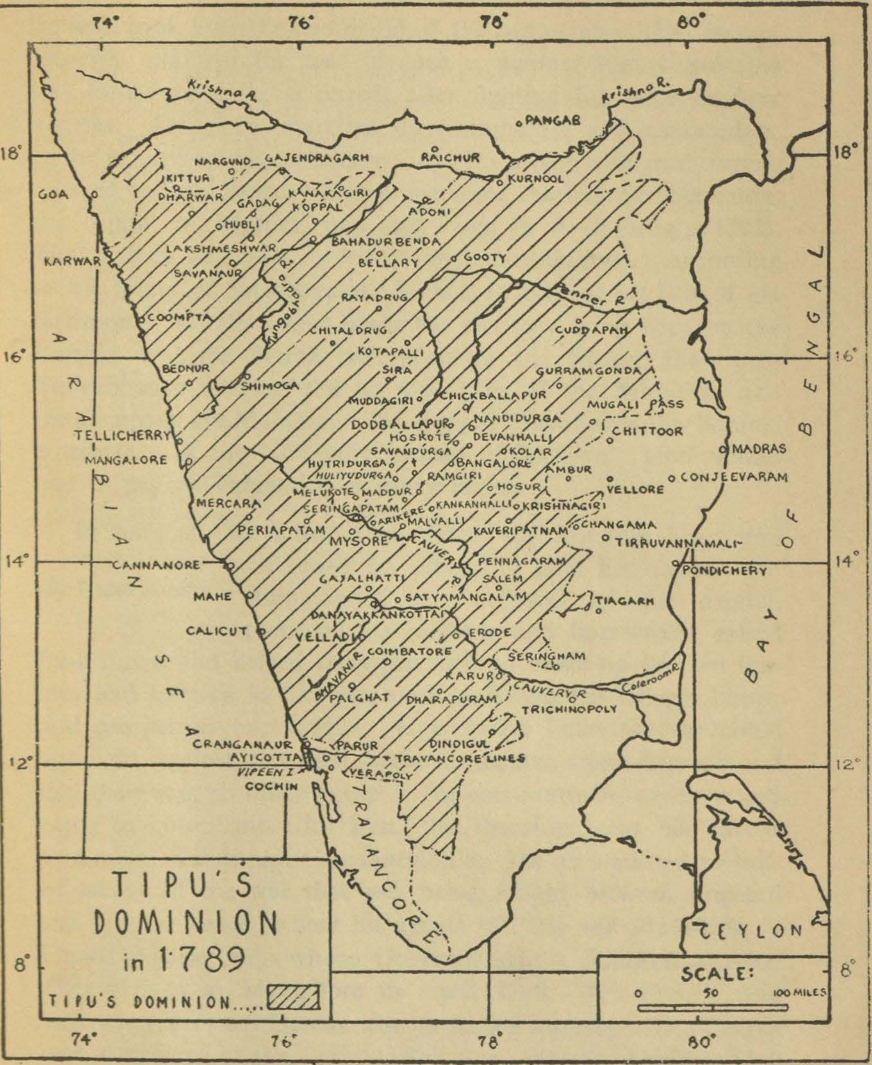
Sultan had to fight against them after subduing the former. He exhibited remarkable ability in this campaign and won brilliant successes on all the fronts; but he had to conclude peace with them on rather unfavourable terms because of the danger from the British. It was in this year, 1787, that he sent envoys to Constantinople and Paris. The Ottoman Government did not pay much heed to his message; in France his agents were received cordially, but they received no definite promise of support.

The new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, had already decided to declare war on Tipu Sultan and in 1789 he entered into an alliance with the Niẓam against him. Once again, the British took the initiative in hostilities. Although the Parliament had only recently decided that the Company should not interfere with the quarrels of the local princes, yet the Governor-General decided to attack Tipu Sultan after making an alliance with the Niẓam. Tipu Sultan had become aware of this decision.

The Raja of Travancore had given shelter to the rebels of Mysore. He had also opposed it in certain other matters. In accordance with his policy of hostility to the British, Tipu Sultan decided to invade Travancore and bring under his control the coastal territory of Malabar, thus facilitating not only the import of arms from Europe but also the defence of his western front. He invaded Cochin and Travancore, seized the fortress and inflicted exemplary punishment on the rebels. In all this Cornwallis found a pretext for attacking Tipu Sultan, for Travancore was on frindely terms with the British. He allied himself with the Nizam and the Marathas and created a united front against Tipu Sultan (June 1790).

The third Mysore War

The operations began with General Meadow's efforts to direct attack from different sides; but Tipu Sultan repulsed them all. In December, 1790, Cornwallis, who was himself an experienced


TIPU'S
DOMINION
in 1789
TIPU'S DOMINION......
SCALE:
0
50
100 MILES
74°
76°
78°
80°
18°
16°
14°
12°
8°
Krishna R.
PANGAB
RAICHUR
NARGUND
GAJENDRAGARH
KITTUR
DHARWAR
GOA
GADAG
KANAKAGIRI
KOPPAL
ADONI
KURNOOL
HUBLI
BAHADUR BENDA
LAKSHMESHWAR
KARWAR
BELLARY
GOOTY
SAVANAUR
RAYADRUG
Penner R.
COOMPTA
CHITALDRUG
CUDDAPAH
KOTAPALLI
SIRA
BEDNUR
SHIMOGA
GURRAMGONDA
MUDDAGIRI
CHICKBALLAPUR
MUGALI PASS
NANDIDURGA
DODBALLAPUR
TELLICHERRY
HOSKOTE
DEVANHALLI
CHITTOOR
MANGALORE
SAVANDURGA
KOLAR
MADRAS
HUTRIDURGA
BANGALORE
AMBUR
HULIYUDURGA
RAMGIRI
CONJEEVARAM
MELUKOTE
MADDUR
HOSUR
VELLORE
MERCARA
SERINGAPATAM
KANKANHALLI
KRISHNAGIRI
ARIKERE
MALVALLI
CHANGAMA
PERIAPATAM
KAVERIPATNAM
MYSORE
CAUVERY R.
TIRRUVANNAMALI
CANNANORE
PENNAGARAM
PONDICHERY
GAJALHATTI
SALEM
MAHE
SATYAMANGALAM
TIAGARH
DANAYAKKANKOTTAI
CALICUT
ERODE
VELLADI
COIMBATORE
SERINGHAM
BHAVANI R.
KARUR
Coleroon R.
PALGHAT
DHARAPURAM
CAUVERY R.
TRICHINOPOLY
CRANGANAUR
PARUR
DINDIGUL
AYICOTTA
TRAVANCORE LINES
VIPEEN I.
VERAPOLY
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
CEYLON

general, took over the command of the campaign. Tipu Sultan, however, planned the war in such a manner that Cornwallis was forced to make a retreat after fighting for three or four months. Tipu now marched on Coimbatore and captured it. In the meantime, Cornwallis renewed his attack with fresh forces, covered the distance by forced marches, reached Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, and laid siege to it (February, 1792). Tipu Sultan was now forced to open negotiations. According to the treaty of Seringapatam he had to cede about half of his territories. Of the ceded lands the territory lying between the Krishna and the Pannir was given to the Nizam, the trans-Tungabhadra districts fell to the share of the Marathas and the Company got Malabar. The Raja of Travancore now became a tributary of the Company instead of Mysore. Tipu Sultan had to pay an indemnity of thirty lakhs.

The fourth Mysore War

In spite of this defeat Tipu Sultan did not lose heart and continued his efforts to gain his object. He strengthened the defences of the capital, re-armed his infantry and horesemen; raised fresh forces and helped the cultivators to make up the loss that they had suffered in the war, thus rendering the villages happy and prosperous once again. Tipu Sultan knew that he could not fight against the East India Company single-handed and that there was no other power in the sub-continent which would agree to co-operate with him. He, therefore, sent his envoys to Arabia, Kabul and Constantinople. He also wanted to take advantage of the war that was being fought between England and France; hence he sent his agents to Paris and Mauritius (a French possession), whose Governor sent a hundred recruits. They arrived at Mangalore in April, 1798. The French who were already in the Deccan also promised support. Tipu Sultan sent a message to the *Peshwa*, Baji Rao, that he should attack the Nizam; but no satisfactory reply was received by him. Thus he was unable to get adequate support or encouragement in

spite of all these efforts. When the new Governor-General, Wellesley, came to know of these activities of Tipu Sultan, he became hostile to him. The British feared France as a source of danger, especially since Napoleon's prestige had been established by his Egyptian campaign. At this moment nothing appeared impossible for him; Napoleon and Tipu Sultan together might easily overthrow the British power. Wellesley, joining forces with the Nizam, launched his campaign against Mysore in February, 1799. Tipu Sultan's army fought bravely, but without success. By March the British forces were able to surround and besiege Seringapatam and the Sultan had to shut himself up behind the walls of its fortress. In April the invading forces captured the outer defences and breached a portion of the wall by heavily bombarding it. The Sultan himself came to the spot and inspired confidence in his soldiers; they stopped the invading forces of the enemy. But he had now begun his attacks from all sides. Tipu continued fighting bravely until the end. At least two of the enemy's bullets struck him in the chest and right side and his horse also received a wound. Even now he refused to follow his counsellors' advice to surrender to the British. When a British soldier tried to remove his jewelled belt the wounded Sultan struck him with his sword, wounding him in the leg. Upon this the soldier shot him dead.

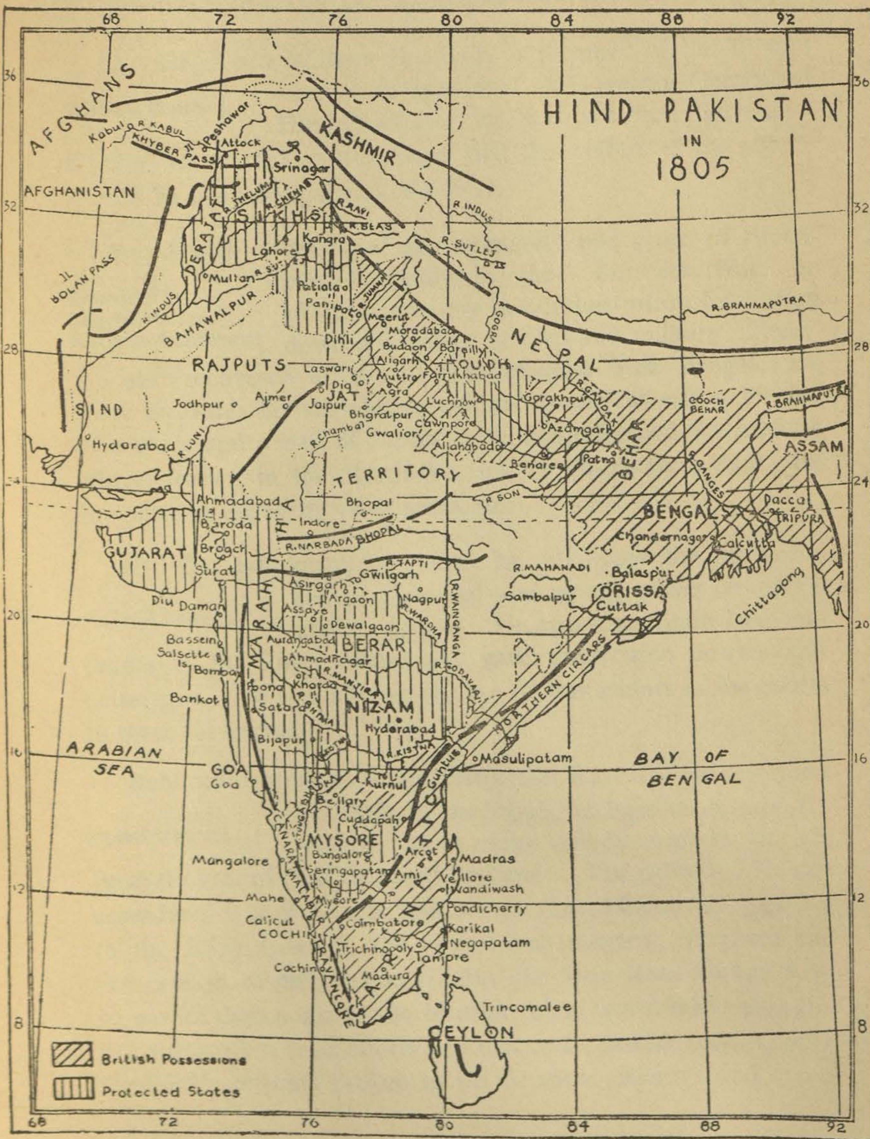
After Tipu Sultan's death the survivors of his family were interned in Vellore and later on removed to Calcutta. The territories of Mysore were partitioned by his enemies among themsslves: the north-western districts were offered to the Marathas but they declined to accept them; the north-eastern districts were given to the Nizam; the British took Canara, Vinand, Coimbatore, Virampur and Seringapatam; the fragment that remained of the vast territories of Mysore was to be held by a young raja of the old ruling family.

The personality and achievements of Tipu Sultan

Tipu Sultan is counted among the noblest figures of history. In the eighteenth century when the power of the Muslims was declining fast and the encroachments of the British were increasing, Tipu Sultan made a determined effort to secure freedom for the land of his birth. He failed to achieve his object and the subcontinent remained subject to foreign domination for more than a hundred and fifty years. The main cause of his failure was that although he had devoted his life to the cause of freedom, yet his neighbours always opposed him and joined the British in making alliances and conspiracies against him. If the Nizam and the Marathas had supported him, he would certainly have succeeded in expelling the British from Hind-Pakistan.

In private life Tipu Sultan was pure and honest. He was gifted with intellectual powers of a high order which were enhanced by his excellent education. He was both a brave general and a far-sighted ruler. He was not given to ease and luxury and he always supervised the affairs of the administration personally. He was a true Muslim and his treatment of the Hindus was marked by toleration. He had a great regard for his cultivators, most of whom were Hindus, and considered it his first duty to protect them from the tyrannies of the *zamindars*. He was not cruel by nature but he inflicted exemplary punishments on his opponents that other might take a lesson. He was very popular with his people, had an aptitude for invention and was a reformer. He stopped, for example, the practice of polyandry which had been current in Malabar, declared the drinking and selling of wine an offence and reformed the existing calendar. He had a complete mastery over miliary affairs and had a book compiled on the subject. It deals with such topics as parades, the duties of the officers, night attacks, jungle warfare, fighting in plains, and the division and arrangement of forces. Tipu had prepared a scheme for the construction of a fleet for

Mysore. In pursuance of this he issued a detailed *farman* and created a department of admiralty. He prepared a model ship and sent it to this department, but, owing to his military pre-occupations and the disorder prevailing in the country, his plans could not be brought to fruition. Tipu failed to achieve his object but there can be no doubt that he left a deep impression of his greatness on the minds of the people. In the eighteenth century he stands out from his contemporaries by virtue of his stout opposition to the growing power of the British. His declared object was the release of Hind-Pakistan from their domination. Tipu's death did not simply mark the end of the independence of Mysore, it signalled the close of the first phase in the long struggle for the freedom of the sub-continent.


HIND PAKISTAN
IN
1805
AFGHANS
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
R. KABUL
KHYBER PASS
Peshawar
Attock
KASHMIR
Srinagar
SIKHS
DERAJAT
R. JHELUM
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
R. BEAS
R. INDUS
R. SUTLEJ
Kangra
Lahore
Multan
BOLAN PASS
BAHAWALPUR
Patiala
Panipat
Meerut
Moradabad
Budaon
Bareilly
Dihli
NEPAL
OUDH
RAJPUTS
Laswari
Aligarh
Muttra
Farrukhabad
Dig
JAT
Agra
Lucknow
Gorakhpur
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Jaipur
Bhgratpur
Cawnpore
Azamgarh
SIND
R. LUNI
R. Chambal
Gwalior
Allahabad
Hydarabad
Benares
Patna
BEHAR
COOCH BEHAR
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
ASSAM
TERRITORY
Ahmadabad
Bhopal
R. SON
BENGAL
Dacca
TRIPURA
Baroda
Indore
Chandernagore
Calcutta
GUJARAT
Broach
R. NARBADA
BHOPAL
Surat
R. TAPTI
Gwilgarh
R. MAHANADI
Balaspur
Asirgarh
Argaon
Nagpur
Sambalpur
ORISSA
Cuttak
Chittagong
Diu
Daman
Assaye
Dewalgaon
R. WARDHA
R. WAINGANGA
Bassein
Salsette Is.
Bombay
Aurangabad
BERAR
Ahmadnagar
MARATHA
R. GODAVARI
NORTHERN CIRCARS
Poona
Kharda
Bankot
Satara
NIZAM
Hyderabad
Bijapur
R. KISTNA
ARABIAN SEA
GOA
Goa
Masulipatam
BAY OF BENGAL
Kurnul
Guntur
Bellary
Cuddapah
CANARA
MYSORE
Bangalore
Arcot
Madras
Mangalore
Seringapatam
Arni
Vellore
Wandiwash
Mahe
Mysore
Pondicherry
Calicut
COCHIN
Coimbatore
Karikal
Negapatam
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Cochin
Madura
TRAVANCORE
Trincomalee
CEYLON
British Possessions
Protected States

CHAPTER XL

CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER (1828—1857)

William Bentinck

In 1828, Lord William Bentinck, a member of the Liberal Party, was appointed as Governor-General of Hind-Pakistan. He was the first Governor-General who acted on the theory that the welfare of the people should be the principal aim of a ruler.

Economy in administration: Revenue Settlement

Faced with a deficit of approximately one crore of rupees caused mainly by the Burmese War, he effected economy in administration by cutting down allowances of civil and military officers. He also recovered arrears of land revenue from Bengal. By these measures he was able to convert the deficit into a surplus of a crore and a half of rupees. He also reformed the revenue administration in the North-Western Provinces (now U.P.) by introducing the thrity years settlement.

Judicial reforms

On the administrative side, he abolished the provincial courts of appeal and circuit which served no useful purpose. He appointed Indo-Pakistani judges in the lower courts and gave them wide powers and better pay. He also allowed the use of vernaculars in the courts in place of Persian.

Social reforms

Bentinck deserves to be remembered as a great social reformer. In 1829, he abolished, by legislation, *sati*, the practice of burning Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands. The orthodox Hindus considered it to be an interference with their religion and appealed to the Privy Council; the appeal was rejected. Bentinck had the support of enlightened Hindus like Raja Ram Mohan Roy. In earlier days some of the Muslim rulers had tried to stop this evil custom but their efforts had met with partial success only. Bentinck's reforms proved to be far more effective and except

for rare cases the evil practice of *sati* disappeared from the sub-continent. In 1830, he took the bold step of suppressing the *thugs*, a community of assassins, who infested the highways under the guise of innocent travellers and strangled and robbed the wayfarers. They were apprehended and hunted down by Major Sleeman, who was entrusted with the task of their suppression.

Educational reforms

In matters pertaining to higher education Lord William Bentinck acted according to the recommendation of Lord Macaulay who was appointed President of the General Committee of Education. Macaulay stood for western education through the medium of English, though many Europeans, including the well-known orientalist, Sir William Jones, stood for oriental education. It was a momentous decision (1835), and had far-reaching effects on the history of later generations. Subsequent legislation, however, redressed its one-sidedness by providing due encouragement to vernacular tongues and classical languages of the land. In 1835 was founded the Calcutta Medical College.

Annexation of Mysore and Coorg

Bentinck upheld the principle of non-intervention though misgovernment of Mysore (1831) and Coorg (1834) induced him to annex those states to the British dominion.

On Bentinck's resignation in 1835, Sir Charles Metcalfe acted as Governor-General. He was succeeded by Lord Auckland whose name is well known in connection with the failure of the Afghan War.

First Afghan War

The mountainous country of Afghanistan lay beyond the territories of the Sikhs on the north-western frontiers of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The country had long been plunged into anarchy on account of the feuds of the *Barakzai* and *Sadozai* clans. Shah Shuja'

Durrani, the *Amir* of Afghanistan, was expelled in 1809. He sought refuge first with Ranjit Singh and then with the British. In 1826, Dost Muḥammad Khan Barakzai made himself the *Amir* of Afghanistan. He was an able man and soon became popular with the Afghans, but his position remained insecure on account of the hostile attitude of his neighbours,—Persia wanted to take Herat, while Russia was intriguing to increase her influence. In the south-east he was constantly harassed by Ranjit Singh who had finally established his power in Peshawar in 1834, while Shah Shuja' wanted to recover his throne through the help of Ranjit Singh and the British. Under such circumstances, Dost Muḥammad wanted a powerful ally in order to ward off all these dangers and was eager for an alliance with the British Government. The latter too wanted a friendly ruler of Afghanistan to counteract Russian influence and prevent Afghanistan being used as a spring-board for attacking the sub-continent. Lord Auckland continued to support Shah Shuja'; he would not restrain Ranjit Singh from incursions into Afghan territory, he would not agree to the legitimate claims of Dost Muḥammad over Peshawar, nor promise him help against the threatened Persian invasion of Herat; and yet he wanted to remain on friendly terms with him. Out of sheer desperation Dost Muḥammad made overtures for an alliance with Russia by receiving a Russian envoy. Auckland decided to depose Dost Muḥammad and replace him by Shah Shuja', and signed a Tripartite Treaty with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja' in June, 1838. In the meantime, the Russian agent had left Afghanistan and the danger of Russian intrigues was removed; but Auckland did not change his policy and ordered the army to march into Afghanistan. As Ranjit Singh refused passage through the Punjab, Lord Auckland decided to send his army through the Bolon Pass across the territory of Sind, in flagrant violation of the treaties between the *Mirs* and the East India Company. Qandhar and Ghazni were occupied and Dost Muḥammad evacuated Kabul before the entry of the English into the town.

Shah Shuja' was placed on the throne in August, 1839. Later Dost Muḥammad surrendered himself and was sent to Calcutta.

The English successes, however, proved short-lived, Auckland could not withdraw the occupation troops now that an English nominee had been placed on the Afghan throne, because Shah Shuja' was unpopular with the Afghans and could not retain his throne without the support of the British army. This entailed a heavy financial burden on the Indian treasury. In 1841, Auckland tried to economise the expenditure by reducing the stipends of the *maliks* of eastern Afghanistan. This coupled with the insolence and immorality of some of the British officers caused a formidable uprising in Kabul (1841). Sir Alexander Burnes, the Resident, was murdered and the military stores and provisions were looted. The British officers concluded peace with the infuriated Afghans led by Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muḥammad. It was agreed (December, 1841) that the British army would evacuate within forty days and Akbar Khan would try to protect the retreating army. But later on the Afghans were enraged to discover that the British general, Sir William Macnaghten, was laying a trap against Akbar Khan. The former was assassinated. The Afghan tribesmen attacked the retreating army, till, out of 16,000 men, only one, Dr. Brydon, could reach Jalalabad to tell the woeful tale. Thus Auckland's policy ended in utter failure and disaster.

Auckland was replaced by Lord Ellenborough in February, 1842. He was anxious that before the rest of the British army was evacuated from Qandhar and other places, it should inflict some signal and decisive blow on the Afghans. But in the meantime, Ghazni and other places were also lost, and Shah Shuja' was killed. So Ellenborough decided on immediate evacuation of British forces. The retreating British army, however, succeeded once more in occupying Kabul where it

showed vandalism of the worst type. The great bazar of Kabul was sacked and blown up. The tomb of Sultan Maḥmud was despoiled and desecrated. Ellenborough received the retreating army at Ferozpur. Dost Muḥammad was ultimately allowed to go to Kabul where he soon established his power. Thus ended the first Afghan War which cost the British nearly one and a half crore of rupees and 20,000 lives.

Annexation of Sind

The *Mirs* of Khairpur, Hyderabad and Shikarpur were forced in 1838 to allow passage to the British troops invading Afghanistan. The same year the *Mirs* were forced to admit a British Resident at Hyderabad and next year made to pay three and a half lakhs of rupees as subsidy for English troops. The *Mirs* kept their terms and did not take advantage of the English reverses in Afghanistan. The English demanded from the *Mirs* cession of territory in place of subsidy and asked them to stop coining money. The *Mirs* were forced to sign a new treaty after Napier had led an unprovoked attack on Imamgarh. Napier, on the pretext that an attack had been made on the English Resident, marched against the *Mirs*, defeated them at Miani, Hyderabad and Dabo. Sind was annexed. The war against the *Mirs* of Sind and the annexation of their territory stand out as glaring examples of unprovoked aggression, and annexation without the slightest justification.

First Sikh War

Since Ranjit Singh's death (1839), the affairs of the Sikhs had fallen into a state of utter confusion. Several persons were raised to the throne and done to death by the Khalsa army which had now become supreme. In 1845, the Khalsa placed Dalip Singh, the five years old son of Ranjit, on the throne with Rani Jindan as regent. In utter helplessness she and her Government gave permission to the army to attack the British territory by crossing the Sutlej. The first engagement between the Sikhs and the English took place at Mudki near Ferozpur. The Sikhs were

defeated with great loss. The British troops attacked the Sikhs at Ferozshah where a hotly contested battle was fought. After being defeated again at Aliwal (December, 1845) and Sobraon (February, 1846) the Sikhs fled across the Sutlej and the British troops entered Lahore. By a treaty, concluded at Lahore, the Sikhs ceded the *Cis-Sutlaj* districts and Jullundur Doab. Their army was reduced to 12 thousand cavalry and 20 thousand infantry. The Sikhs paid an indemnity of 50 lakhs of rupees and ceded Kashmir which was sold by the British to Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, for 75 lakhs of rupees. The government was to continue in the name of Dalip Singh under the supervision of an English Resident (Henry Lawrence).

Second Sikh War

The discontent of the disbanded Khalsa and the impatience of the Sikhs at the presence of the British army of occupation led to the second Sikh war (1848-49). A revolt was started by Mulraj, the Sikh Governor of Multan, who murdered two English officers. Lt. Edwards, who was sent against the rebellious chief, failed to capture Multan, whereupon there was a general uprising of the Sikh troops against the British. Lord Dalhousie accepted the Sikh challenge. In January, 1849, Multan fell and Sir Hugh Gough, the British Commander-in-Chief crossed over to the Punjab and fought an indecisive battle at Chillianwala in which the British suffered heavy losses. Sir Charles Napier was appointed to supersede Sir Hugh Gough, but before Napier had arrived, Gough won a decisive victory at Gujrat (February 1849). The Sikhs were pursued up to the Afghan frontier and Peshawar was occupied by the British. On March 30, 1849, Dalhousie, on his own responsibility, annexed the Punjab by proclamation.

The Second Burmese War

The second Burmese War took place in 1852. Since the first Burmese war, the relations between the Government of Burma and the British had deteriorated. In 1840, the Burmese king

expelled the British Resident from Ava. In 1852, the Governor-General protested against the persecution to which some English merchants had been subjected in Southern Burma. An ultimatum was sent to Ava demanding an indemnity of £100,000; and when no heed was paid to it a flotilla was sent to Rangoon which clashed with Burmese fighting forces. Soon after Rangoon, Bassein and Pegu were captured. Instead of launching an expedition against North Burma, as instructed by the Board of Directors, Lord Dalhousie, who had proceeded to Rangoon to direct the operations, proclaimed the annexation of Lower Burma.

Doctrine of lapse

Dalhlusie was a stout annexationist. He annexed a large number of Indo-Pakistan states by his doctrine of lapse. According to this doctrine the States of the princes, who had no male heirs, lapsed to the Company which did not recognise the right of the princes to adopt heirs. Sambhalpur, Jhansi, Baghat (Cis-Sutl j State), and Nagpur were annexed in this way. His decisions with regard to Baghat and Udaipur were reversed by Canning and the Board of Directors disapproved of the annexation of Karauli (C.I.). He did not recognise the claim of the Nawwab of Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore. On the death of the *Peshwa*, his adopted son, Nana Sahib was not allowed to draw his father's pension. On the pretext of mismanagement, Lord Dalhousie, at the suggestion of the Board of Directors, annexed Oudh, 1856, in spite of the fact that the British were bound by a treaty of friendship with the Court of Lucknow. A pension was given to Nawwab Wajid 'Ali Shah who was taken to Calcutta.

Dalhousie was responsible for many works of public utility. He sanctioned the plan for a College of Engineering at Roorkee. He established a separate department of Public Works. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar was repaired and extended by him. He also finished the great Ganges

Canal (1854). The first railway line (E.I.R.) was laid in his time in 1853. He also improved the means of communication by introducing telegraph and cheap postage in the sub-continent. Forests were conserved and tea plantation was encouraged.


HIND PAKISTAN
IN
1856
TIBET
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA
SIND
GUJARAT
MALWA
OUDH
NEPAL
BHUTAN
SIKKIM
ASSAM
BENGAL
BEHAR
REWA
NAGPUR
BERAR
NIZAM
MYSORE
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Kabul
Jalalabad
Peshawar
KHYBER PASS
ATTOCK
Rawalpindi
Srinagar
Chilianwala
Ramnagar
Kangra
Lahore
Sobraon
Ferozeshah
Aliwal
Mudki
Multan
BOLAN PASS
Ambala
Panipat
Meerut
Bikaner
Dihli
Aligarh
Agra
Jaipur
Bharatpur
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Gorakhpur
Katmandu
Darjeeling
Jodhpur
R LUNI
Ajmer
Gwalior
R CHAMBAL
Kalpi
Jhansi
Allahabad
Benares
Arah
Dinapur
Patna
R GANGES
R BRAHMAPUTRA
R SON
Miani
Hyderabad
Karachi
Ahmadabad
Saugar
Murshidabad
Dacca
Indore
BHOPAL
Chandernagar
Calcutta
Chittagong
Baroda
R NARBADA
R TAPTI
Surat
Nagpur
Sambalpur
Cuttack
MAHANADI
Diu
Daman
Aurangabad
Bassein
Bombay
Ahmadnagar
Poona
Satara
Bijapur
Hyderabad
Kolhapur
Yanam
Goa
Bellary
Cuddapah
Masulipatam
Madras
Mangalore
Tellichery
Bangalore
Vellore
Pondicherry
Mahe
Calicut
COCHIN
Mysore
Coimbatore
Karik
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Dindigul
Anjengo
Trincomalee
1000 FEET
ABOVE 5000 FEET
Afghan Wars
Chitral
Kabul
Ghazni
Srinagar
Peshawar
Attock
Rawalpindi
Thal
Bannu
Kalabagh
Kundian
Kalat
Dera Ismail Khan
R CHENAB
R RAVI
Multan
Bolan Pass
Quetta
Harnai
Dera Ghazi Khan
SUTLEJ
68
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8

PART VI

Modern Period

CHEPTER XLI

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1857-58)

Nature and origin of the war

The War of Independence, which has often been wrongly described as Mutiny, was the culminating stage in the century-old struggle of the Muslims to free themselves from the domination of the foreigners. It was fought in the whole of the north, except the Punjab.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of decline in the history of Muslim rule in the sub-continent. The semi-independent states that had risen to power during the last hundred years were falling before the East India Company like nine pins. The collapse of Mysore was followed by the distintegration of the Maratha Confederacy in the first quarter, and the annexation of Burma in the east, and Oudh and Rohilkhand in the north, and Sind and the Punjab in the west, during the second quarter of this century. These annexations in addition to many minor ones were in all cases made in a most highhanded and aggressive manner. All traditions of justice and fairplay were thrown to the winds and drastic changes were introduced in the political and economic structure of the sub-continent without the slightest regard to the principles of morality. A detailed survey of the political and military history of the period has been given elsewhere ; yet it is necessary to mention here that the reaction of the ever-tightening hold of the forces of British imperialism was not slow to stir the feelings of disaffection among the people, particularly those who were directly affected by the new changes. This, we find clearly, reflected both in the intensity of feelings of hatred against the foreign government and the wide area which soon became involved in the war.

Causes

The War of Independence was the result of many causes and factors. For the sake of convenience it would be proper if these are examined under different heads—political, social, religious and economic.

Political

The end of Dalhousie's administration was marked by general feelings of unrest. Nearly every class of people had been hit by his policy. His annexations, particularly through the application of the doctrine of lapse, had made the princes and all those who depended upon them uneasy. The annexation of Oudh produced far-reaching repercussions. Satara, the original seat of Shivaji, and Nagpur, an important Maratha State, had been absorbed, besides a number of minor ones, through a process which appeared to be a gross misuse of the machinery of law.

Social and economic

In the social field every annexation gave birth to a crop of difficult problems. The deposition of the ruling monarch was not the only outcome of annexation. Local aristoracies and landed gentry suffered severally, and a large number of people lost their means of livelihood. This point can be best understood if it is remembered that twenty thousand estates were confiscated in the Deccan alone. The land-owning classes were thus ruined. No wonder we find that nearly all the capable leaders of the movement for independence belonged to this class of dispossessed landlords. The *taluqdars* of Oudh were the worst sufferers, hence their active leadership in the war. The high caste Hindu felt that his faith was attacked. The British Government was universally suspected of designs to convert India to Christianity, and Canning was regarded an active agent of this policy of conversion. The orthodox sections had other material grievances. The abolition of *sati* through legislation

gave them further cause for resentment. The Religious Disabilities Act protected the rights of converts from Hinduism to Chrisitanity while the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act violated traditions of long standing. These laws were greatly resented because it was felt that they were designed to destroy the Hindu law of inheritance.

It may be mentioned here that the English people looked upon the Muslims rather than the Hindus as the real makers of this war. They held that the Hindu had no real stake in the struggle, that he had no genuine cause for taking up arms and that his role was a minor one. To them the Muslim was their chief enemy. This view, however, is not entirely correct. In the early stages, in many cases, it took the shape of a rising of soldiers irrespective of religion. They all aimed at the re-establishment of the power of the Mughul Emperor.

Bengal Army

A factor of great importance in the struggle was the Bengal Army which was mainly constituted of recruits from the North-Western Provinces corresponding to the present day Uttar Pradesh. Oudh alone had contributed forty thousand men. It had a large number of high caste Hindus, Brahmins and Rajputs, in its ranks. The annexation of Oudh was greatly resented by them for they were still loyal to the ruling Nawabs and had considerable interest in the maintenance of their rule.

Religious causes

The introduction of greased cartridges, which had been recently imported from Europe, precipitated the crisis. The rumour spread that the grease used in them was made from the fat of cows and pigs and that Government with one stroke wanted to destroy the religion of both the Hindus and the Muslims. It was true that animal fat was used in the ammunition factories and therefore when the British officers said that animal fat was not used, the sepoys thought they were telling lies. At Meerut some troopers of a regiment refused to use the cartridges. They were tried by

court martial and were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Later on they were publicly degraded, stripped off their uniform and handcuffed.

When the Burmese war broke out, the Bengal sepoys refused to go to the theatre of war by way of sea. The Commander-in-Chief went to Barrackpore and asked them either to march or ground their arms. They refused to do either. Instantly a shower of bullets fell upon them and they fled in panic. The surviving ring-leaders were hanged and the 47th Regiment was disbanded. The 66th Native Infantry rose at Govindgarh, but it was crushed and disbanded.

Under the law every recruit had to give an undertaking that he would have no objection to going to any place to which he was ordered to go.

The new Governor General, Canning, and his wife were suspected of designs to convert the people to Christianity and the influence of the Christian missionaries was also increasing. It was precisely at this moment that the army was informed of the new cartridges which were said to be greased with the fat of the cows and pigs. All these factors were contributing to the wave of disaffection among the civilians and causing excitement in the army circles. In April, Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the *Peshwa*, Baji Rao II, passed through Kalpi, Delhi and Lucknow to stir up the local chieftains. A few months before his tour, a mysterious phenomenon happened in the form of the circulation of *chapatis*. They were passing from village to village throughout the length and breadth of the North-Western Provinces. Some magistrates tried to prevent the distribution of these *chapatis* but they were unable to stop it. The full meaning of this portent has not been positively discovered, but their distribution created a belief that religion was in danger, and resistance was necessary.

First stage of the War

The events at Meerut (May 10, 1857) precipitated the crisis. The 3rd Cavalry took the lead. They raided the jail and freed their comrades who had been publicly disgraced and sent to prison for refusing to accept the greased cartridges. They raised the standard of revolt and started killing the European officers. The following morning they reached Delhi, proclaimed Bahadur Shah as their Emperor and attacked the magazine, but it had been blown up and only a small quantity of ammunition fell into their hands. Thus the beginning was hopeful but the advantages gained in the initial stage were not utilised for purposes of consolidation. There were only four leaders of prominence who cwmmanded the allegiance of the soldiers. At Kanpur, Nana Sahib asked the soldiers to surround Wheeler's forces, and at Lucknow Lawrence had to face a blockade. The Rani of Jhansi received some help and was able to hold on for a time. Khan Bahadur Khan had declared himself viceroy at Bareilly. But there was no co-ordination amongst the leaders. The aged monarch was unable to establish a vigorous government of his own in the capital. Holkar's troops had also risen but Sir Salar Jung prevented an outbreak in Hyderabad, although disturbances occurred in Kolhapur,Bombay and southern Maratha territories. The valley of the Ganges was the main theatre of military operations. There was trouble at Banaras, but it was brought under control by Neill who, after restoring the authority of the Government, pushed on to Allahabad. Here he was joined by Havelock and together they proceeded onwards to relieve Kanpur and Lucknow. In the meantime, Wheeler had surrendered at Kanpur, and a large area had come under the control of the army of liberation. But these military gains did not prove lasting because the civilian population which welcomed the new leadership was not organised for defence, with the result that the British were soon able to take an offensive with Nicholson and Chamberlain in the north, and Havelock and Neill in the south.

The triumph of the British Government was marked by a reign of terror. Even those who were suspected of being in sympathy with the movement were executed and in most cases subjected to torture and dishonour. "Let us propose a Bill for the flaying alive, impalement or burning of the murderers of women and children at Delhi". This is what Nicholson wrote to Edwardes. A general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi was openly proclaimed. Every person who was not actively fighting for the British was condemned as a 'murderer'. Townsmen and villagers alike were the victims of this blood-lust. After suppressing the revolt of Banaras, Col. Neill inforced martial law over surrounding district.

Kanpur

These acts of barbarity are mentioned because they enable us to understand the events at Kanpur. The story of the three weeks defence by that city by General Wheeler ended in his surrender. The British troops were attacked and killed while embarking on the boats to escape by the river route and the women and children were taken to Nana Sahib's palace. About a fortnight later, Nana Sahib's forces were defeated at Fatehpur and Havelock resumed his march towards Kanpur. On hearing this, the palace servants murdered 211 women and children. This act of barbarity was inspired by the brutalities inflicted on the people at Banaras and Allahabad. The British troops, it seems, had the sanction of the authorities to indulge in any act of savagery. Innocent people were slaughtered wholesale at Kanpur, Lucknow and many other places.

Delhi

Delhi fell to the British troops after a series of operation. A siege train had arrived on September 6, and a week later the Kashmiri Gate was stormed. The city and fort were captured after six days of well-contested fight but Nicholson was severely wounded. Bahadur Shah was arrested by Hodson who mercilessly shot three of his sons. The city was given up to ruthless plunder and a majority of



Bahadur Shah, Last Mughul Emperor

the male population which had not fled was massacred. "All the city people found within the walls", writes an Englishman, "when our troops entered, were bayoneted on the spot, and the number was considerable."

Lucknow

Meanwhile Havelock, after being joined by Outram, fought his way into Lucknow on September 26. These two events, the fall of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow, established the authority of the British. The capture of Bahadur Shah was a great loss to the people's army. Reinforcements had begun to arrive from England and consequently it had become apparent that no large-scale encounter would take place in which the army of liberation could hope to win. Sir Colin Campbell operated in the North-Western Provinces, while Sir Hugh Rose marched from Bombay through Central India, Lucknow had to be relieved for the second time, but immediately after clearing the city, Campbell had to go to Kanpur to help General Wyndham who was hard pressed by Tantia Topi. Outram was left at Lucknow where he held 'Alambagh. Lucknow was now (March 1858) to be relieved for a third time. After defeating the Maratha forces Campbell returned to Lucknow and relieved Outram. Khan Bahadur Khan and his followers were driven from Bareilly. Maulvi Aḥmadullah and the Begum of Oudh fought with great courage and determination round Shahjahanpur, until the former was treacherously murdered by a brother of the Raja of Powain. This act of tragic betrayal brought the career of a successful war leader to an untimely end, and the national struggle suffered a great loss. The Begum fled to Nepal.

A new phase of the struggle began at this stage. The *taluqdars* were now driven into active opposition by an unjust and impolitic proclamation of Canning which declared that their lands were liable to confiscation. This kindled the already awakened sense of patriotism among an influential section of the people.

Maulvi Aḥmadullah whose treacherous murder had greatly weakened the movement is to be remembered as one of the noblest workers in the cause, for even his opponents admitted that 'he had not stained his sword with assassination, he connived at no murders and he fought manfully, honestly, stubbornly in the field against the strangers who had seized his country.'

Jhansi

In the Central Indian campaign interest centred on the siege of Jhansi. Sir Hugh Rose reached Jhansi on March 21. Tantia Topi who had collected his forces at Kalpi also marched on Jhansi. He was defeated on the river Betwa, and Sir Hugh Rose then stormed Jhansi. The Rani escaped and joined Tantia but their combined forces were also defeated at Kunch. The Rani, however, possessed indomitable courage and continued her efforts until she died fighting valiantly. Jhansi and, later on, Gwalior were recaptured by the British forces.

Nana Sahib, the Begum of Oudh and Prince Firuz Shah escaped from the sub-continent during the autumn of 1858. Tantia Topi was tried and hanged. It may be noted here in passing that the British soldier who fought with valour and patriotic fervour brought shame on himself by exhibiting crude racial passions and gross ingratitude to these people who helped him in their hour of distress. It is also an important fact that most of the leaders of the national movement showed indecision, shortsightedness and lack of that broad outlook which alone could lead such an extensive movement to a successful end.

From the very outset the movement suffered from handicaps which ultimately brought it to an unsuccessful end. It was not preceded by any large-scale propaganda in favour of a war of liberation and thus the common man had no idea of its true significance. There was no unity of action among the leaders and no foreign power came to their help with the result that they were left alone to their limited and diminishing resources.

Lastly, some elements in the population of the sub-continent itself, such as the Gurkhas and the Sikhs, proved to be disloyal to the cause of national independence and came to the help of the foreigners at a critical stage. Nevertheless, the patriots fought with the enthusiasm of martyrs and laid down their lives in the cause of freedom without the slightest hesitation. Many of those who escaped death in the field of battle had to end their lives at the gallows, while their families were subjected to all sorts of cruelties and barbarities.

Conclusion

To an Englishman the war of 1857-58 was nothing but an unhappy episode caused by a mutiny of the sepoys. To a student of history these same events examined in their true perspective yield a different meaning. That it is characterised with failure in the end and disastrous consequences for the peoples of the country, especially for the Muslims, is beyond question; but there is irrefutable evidence to prove that it was not a mere 'sepoy mutiny', but a full-fledged War of Independence sought with the object of ousting the foreigners and restoring the authority of the lawful ruler. The war left bitter memories behind it and its far-reaching effects influenced the course of the history of the sub-continent for a long period.

To the Muslims it has a special significance. The Englishman believed that the Muslims were mainly responsible for this struggle and that they wanted to restore the Mughul Empire whose glories were still fresh in their minds. The English further believed that the opposition of the Muslims to their rule was both natural and spontaneous. The Hindu chiefs, on the other hand, had no such plan for national regeneration. They were interested in the movement to the extent to which their sense of local or territorial patriotism impelled them. They had their own quarrels with the Company and they wanted to grab certain territories and establish their sway over them. The barbarous retaliation against the Muslims after the collapse of the movement was undoubtedly the result of this British view.

There is plenty of evidence on record to show that countless Muslims were hanged and their property confiscated on mere suspicion. An Englishman tells us that in Allahabad alone the number of persons killed by Neill was larger than all the men, women and children who were killed by the revolutionaries during the entire course of the war. Perhaps more harmful than these executions, barbarous as they were, was the policy of suppressing the Muslims in the different walks of life which was followed by the British Government consistently for a period of about fifty years.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND WORLD WARS (1858—1947)

Two important objects of British foreign policy after 1857

After the success of their arms in 1857, the British based their foreign policy on two important factor: one was to keep the Muslims of the Sub-continent aloof from the Muslims of the other Islamic countries so as to prevent them from being influenced by Muslim movements especially the *Pan-Islamism* of Jamal-ud-din Afghani. The second object was to gain political domination over Afghanistan, Iran and the tribal area of the North-West Frontier Province under the pretext of safeguarding the frontier of Hind-Pakistan. It is difficult to accept the British plea that they had to follow a policy of interference in the affairs of Afghanistan and Iran because of imminent danger from Russia. The history of the period following the War of Independence shows that Russia and British never fought over the problems of the Middle East. On the other hand they conspired to partition Iran in 1907 and Turkey in 1941. They were also allies in both the world wars of 1914-18 and of 1939-45.

Conflicting views about the N.W.F. policy

When the British seized the Punjab and the frontier of their empire came close to the foot of the mountains in Afghanistan, their Government had to deal with the warlike people who inhabit even today the tribal area which stretches from Baluchistan to Chitral. They are the Afridis, the Mohamands, the Bhitanis, the Wazirs and the Mahsuds. They were always a source of mental worry to the British Government.

There was a difference of opinion among political leaders in England over the question of bringing these tribes under the influence of the government and thus strengthening the frontiers. One group held the view that the British Government should regard the river Indus as its western boundary and avoid

interfering in the affairs of the Afghans and the tribal chiefs. However, the number of such people was negligibly small. The other group maintained that not only should tribal territory be conquered and the boundary of the British Empire pushed forward to the frontiers of Afghanistan, but, if possible, Afghanistan itself should be conquered and broken up into parts. The supporters of the latter view were known as "the Forward School".

The policy of Lord Lawrence about Afghanistan

In this connection, the north-western policy of Lord Lawrence was to maintain the freedom of tribal chiefs who must respect and recognise the British Government as politically supreme and not raid any part of British territory. About Afghanistan, too, Lord Lawrence held the view that there should be no interference in the domestic affairs of that country, nor should the Russians be given an opportunity to advance towards its frontiers; and that the British Government should always endeavour to remain on friendly terms with Afghanistan's ruler of the day. Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook also followed Lord Lawrence's policy of "masterly inactivity". But Lord Lytton gave it up in 1878. If we take stock of the events that took place, these conflicting views will become clear.

The death of Amir Dost Muḥammad Khan in 1864 was followed by a civil war in Afghanistan. At first Muḥammad A'zam and his nephew, 'Abdur Raḥman, were successful against their enemies. Sher 'Ali Khan fled from Kabul to Herat, and Muḥammad A'zam became the *Amir* of Kabul. Sayyid Jamal-ud-din Afghani advised Muḥammad A'zam to win the sympathy of his relations and kinsmen by giving them high posts in the Government. But Muḥammad A'zam did not act upon this advice. The result was that with the help of the British Sher 'Ali inflicted a severe defeat upon Muḥammad A'zam and 'Abdur Raḥman. Muaḥmmad A'zam sought refuge at Nishapur in Iran where he died a few months later. 'Abdur Raḥman

fled to the protection of the Russians at Bullnara. Sher 'Ali Khan now became the ruler of Afghanistan.

In accordance with his traditional policy, Lord Lawrence acknowledged Sher 'Ali Khan the ruler of Afghanistan and fixed an annual sum as financial help and in addition permitted him to purchase arms from India. Lord Mayo, successor of Lord Lawrence, held a grand *durbar* at Ambala to which Sher 'Ali Khan was invited. He was entertained on a grand scale, and his annuity also was increased. Thus political relations between the two powers became strengthened. When Lord Northbrook was the Viceroy, Sher 'Ali Khan tried to enter into a treaty of friendship with the British by which he could obtain help at any time. Lord Northbrook not only refused to conclude such a treaty but acting upon the policy of "masterly inactivity" he also abandoned the policy of keeping British envoy at Qandhar and Herat. But in 1874 the Conservative Party came into power with Disraeli as its leader who became the Prime Minister of England. He decided that Sher 'Ali should be compelled to permit a British Resident to reside at his court. But Lord Northbrook was not willing to follow this new policy. He, therefore, resigned and left in 1876. Lord Lytton came out as Viceroy in his place.

Lord Lytton and the problem of Afghanistan

Lord Lytton belonged to the group of those politicians who favoured the expansion of the British Empire on the pretext of checking the Russian advance, and wished to bring Afghanistan within the sphere of British influence. Soon after his arrival, Lord Lytton made it plain to Sher 'Ali that the British would protect him by a proper treaty against his external enemies, *e.g.* Russia, provided he agreed to have a British Resident at Kabul. Sher 'Ali declined to enter into a treaty containing such a provision, but Lord Lytton persisted in his demand. In order to put his idea into practical shape he took Quetta from the Khan of Qalat, which is the key to Bolan Pass. This step made Sher

'Ali alert, because from Quetta military operations could be directed first against Qandhar and then against Afghanistan itself. At the same time, Lord Lytton entered into an agreement with the Maharaja of Kashmir by which he set up a British agent in Gilgit. This new step of the Viceroy created uneasiness among the Afghans.

Political dealings with Afghanistan

To cause trouble to the British in Asia, the Russian Government sent a mission under General Stolietoff from Tashqand to Kabul. Sher 'Ali permitted the Russian mission to enter Kabul and got ready to enter into a proper agreement with them. On receiving this news, Lord Lytton demanded that Sher 'Ali should not only break off all relations with foreign powers, he should also permit a British envoy to reside at Herat. Sher 'Ali refused to accept these demands. Thereupon Lord Lytton declared war against Afghanistan on November 21, 1878.

Second Afghan War

Three British armies attacked Afghanistan under Sir Samuel Browne, General Roberts and General Stuart. Jalalabad and Qandhar were soon occupied. Sher 'Ali fled to Turkistan, but while on his way, he died at Herat. The British placed Sher 'Ali's eldest son, Ya'qub Khan, on the throne and concluded with him the Treaty of Gandamak, which permitted the British to have their Resident at Kabul and an agent at Herat. Pishin and several hill stations were handed over to the British, and in return for an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees the *Amir* of Kabul bound himself not to enter into treaty with any foreign power. Only a few months after this peace, the Afghans rose in arms and killed the British ambassador. Once again the British armies marched upon Afghanistan under General Roberts and General Stuart. General Roberts occupied Kabul, and meted out severe punishment to the culprits concerned and took Ya'qub Khan prisoner. These measures proved of no avail, as the entire country was in revolt. Sher 'Ali's son, Ayyub Khan,

defeated the British at Maiwand. Amir 'Abdur Raḥman Khan returned from Turkistan and occupied Kabul. Meanwh le Lord Lytton resigned and sailed for England.

Lord Lytton's successor, Lord Ripon, changed the British policy towards Afghanistan. The British armies were recalled. Sometime after their departure, Amir 'Abdur Raḥman Khan defeated Ayyub Khan and seized Herat and Qandhar, thus becoming the sole monarch of entire Afghanistan.

Following the example of Britain and France, Russia also selected the Muslim kingdoms of Central Asia as her victims and began to finish their independence one after the other. Russia, therefore, annexed Tashqand in 1865 and occupied Samarqand in 1868. Side by side with this expansion, the Russians spread a net of intrigue in Afghanistan.

Russian influence at Kabul

This resulted in a Russian political mission arriving at Kabul in 1870. The Russian Colonel Stolietoff also reached Kabul from Tashqand, but he left after examining the political designs of the British.

The Russians resumed their advance after the second Afghan War. They occupied Merv in 1884, which is only one hundred and fifty miles from the border of Afghanistan. But when the Russian armies occupied another town in 1885, namely Panjdeh, which lies between Herat and Merv, the British felt afraid lest the Russian advance should assume a formidable form. Lord Dufferin expressed his willingness to send an army to the Afghan border, but at Amir 'Abdur Raḥman's request a combined commission settled the Afghan and Russian boundary dispute staisfactorily and the Russian Government withdrew its armies from the Afghan border. Sometime after this Lord Dufferin assured Amir 'Abdur Raḥman Khan at a meeting which took place at Rawalpindi that his Government would help him with arms and money should need arise.

Durand Line

While Lansdowne was Viceroy in India, Gul Muḥammad, an Afghan official, occupied Wana in 1893 and sent the tribal chiefs to Amir 'Abdur Raḥman. The chiefs were very well received at Kabul. Realising the importance of the situation, Lansdowne sent Sir Mortimer Durand as an ambassador to the court of Amir 'Abdur Raḥman Khan in 1893 to settle the question of Afghan-Indian border. The boundaries of the two countries were then permanently fixed by the Durand Line, which even today separates the two countries. Amir 'Abdur Raḥman Khan waived his claim to Waziristan and gave a solemn undertaking not to interfere with the affairs of Swat and Chitral. Baluchistan was then included in British territory. The British set up a permanent military station at Chaman. The annual sum paid to the Amir of Kabul was now raised from twelve lakhs to eighteen lakhs.

At the same time they started building cantonments and roads in the regions of what is now called the North-West Frontier Province. This step inflamed the Afridis who suspected that the British Government intended to put an end to their freedom by conquering their free land. They blocked the Khaibar Pass in 1897. Sir William Lockhart put down the Afridi rising with great difficulty. From this time the Afridis began to receive stipends, and British armies were stationed at important strategic points.

Lord Curzon's frontier policy

Lord Curzon adopted a new policy to solve the tribal problem. He withdrew the British army from a number of points in the N.-W.F.P., but raised a militia of paid local tribesmen under British officers in their place. New roads and railway lines were built in a number of places, and the Mahsud tribes were subjected by force of arms. Lord Curzon detached the five districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara from the Punjab and created the North-West Frontier Province

in 1901. This province was put directly under the Government of India, and its administration was placed in the hands of a Chief Commissioner. The object of creating this new province was to conduct its affairs properly and thoroughly.

European aggression in Asia

In the opening years of the twentieth century Germany's might was on the increase, and she had ambitions in the Middle East. In view of these, the British began to offer the hand of friendship to Russia. Thus all matters relating to Afghanistan and Iran which needed a solution were settled by September, 1907. Afghanistan was politically acknowledged to be within the British sphere of influence, The traders of the two countries were given equal rights and concessions. Iran was also divided into two parts. The northern part was to fall within Russia's sphere of influence, while south-eastern provinces fell to Britain's share. The Powers in Europe were now feverishly preparing for a clash of arms.

First World War (1914—18)

The immediate cause of the war was the murder of Austria's Crown Prince in Servia on May 21, 1914. Austria sent an ultimatum to Servia containing severe conditions which the latter turned down. Thereupon Austria, supported by Germany, started military operations against Servia, supported by France and Russia. But when Germany attempted to march her armies forcibly through Belgium, Britain declared war upon her. Thus the first World War started in Europe. In this war Russia, France, England, Belgium, Italy, Roumania, Servia, Greece, China, Japan, the U.S.A. and the independent state of South America, were ranged against Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.

Germany and her allies continued to gain victories till 1917 because the German armies were well trained and Germany had ample supplies of arms and ammunition. But the timely

entry, of U.S.A. into the war in 1917 changed its whole complexion. U.S.A. had arms and ammunition in huge quantities, and the British navy was still supreme. Thus Germany and her allies were forced to admit defeat. They laid down their arms in November, 1918. About a million soldiers from Hind-Pakistan fought very bravely in the First World War. The Indian treasury freely spent its funds on the army. India also made a gift of five million pounds to Britain.

Third Afghan War (1919)

After Amir Habibullah Khan's murder in 1919, Amir Amanullah Khan was acknowledged as king of Afghanistan. Soon after his accession, movements of the Afghan army started on the border. The British in India replied by similar movement of their forces, when all of a sudden a skirmish led to the third Afghan War. The British forces achieved success at Khaibar Pass and Chaman, but the Afghan Commander, General Nadir Khan defeated the British army at Tal. In August, 1919, the two parties met at Rawalpindi and concluded a peace. According to this treaty Amir Amanullah Khan was acknowledged to be independent sovereign of Afghanistan. Amir Amanullah Khan introduced certain reforms in Afghanistan which were not liked by the people. In 1928, the Shinwari tribe revolted, and Bachcha Saqao attacked Kabul through the Daman mountains. Amir Amanullah Khan tried to bring the situation under control, but on suffering defeat at the hands of Bachcha Saqao he left his country for Rome, the capital of Italy.

Meanwhile General Nadir Khan, accompanied by his two brothers, Hashim Khan and Shah Wali Khan, arrived in our sub-continent and won the sympathy and help of the tribes. For eight months he waged war against Bachcha Saqao, and after defeating him occupied the throne of Kabul. The people of Afghanistan acknowledged him as their ruler. Nadir Khan

ruled for four years. On November 8, 1933, he was shot dead by an Afghan fanatic. The Afghans accepted his son, Muhammad Zahir Khan, as their ruler.

Lord Linlithgow (1939—43) was the Viceroy and Governor General in India when the Second World War started in Europe.

Second World War

Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933. Under him Germany freed herself from many of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Taking advantage of the weak foreign policy of England's Prime Minister, Chamberlain, Hitler occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia. Japan and Italy combined with Germany. Italy occupied Abyssinia. Italy's dictator, Mussolini, was striving to put an end to British influence and supremacy in the Mediterranean. Japan likewise aimed to be supreme in the Pacific Ocean. These three countries known as the Axis Powers aimed at seizing, by working together and by military operations, the French and British possessions. They hoped to transfer their surplus population to these lands which, so they believed, would accept their manufactures.

The immediate cause of World War II was a secret treaty between Germany and Russia. According to this treaty Russia promised to be neutral if a war came in Europe. Thus satisfied about Russia, Hitler demanded the port of Danzig from Poland. When this demand was turned down, Hitler attacked Poland on September 1, 1939. England and France sided with Poland, and thus World War II started in Europe.

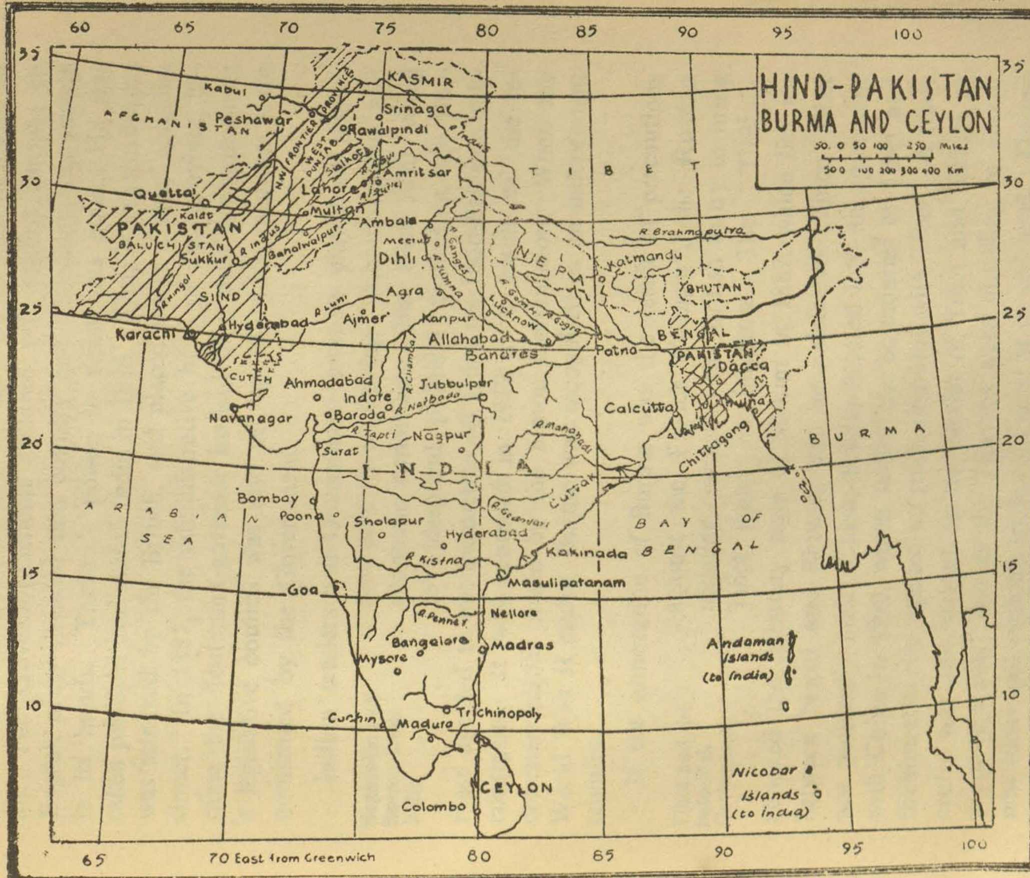
In the opening stage of the war Germany scored glorious victories. She conquered Poland in 1939, and in 1940 Norway, Belgium, Holland and France fell into her hands. In the hour of France's defeat, Italy also declared war. Japan, however, waited till December, 1941. The United States of America and Russia supported England and France against the Axis Powers, and the flames of war thus enveloped the whole world.

The German armies continued to advance in Russia up to March, 1942; Japan, on the other hand, seized Java, Sumatra, Malaya and Burma. At this critical stage the British Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent to exchange views with the leaders of the country about the future constitution of India. But Cripps returned unsuccessful. After his return Lord Linlithgow put all the Congress leaders into prison. The war was still raging furiously when Lord Wavell was appointed Governor-General of India in October, 1943. The situation improved for the Allies. The bravery of the Russian armies and aerial bombardment by the British and American planes broke the back of Germany, and eventually she laid down her arms in May, 1945. Atom bombs were dropped on two cities in Japan, namely Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The atom bomb was the most important invention of the Second World War. Japan surrendered in August, 1945.

In World War II also the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent gave ample proof of bravery. Its armies fought valiantly in France, Egypt, Libya, Java and Malaya. The conquest of Abyssinia and the retreat of Italian armies in Libya were largely due to the efforts of the Indo-Pakistan soldiers. Besides this, the Indo-Pakistani factories manufactured considerable war material for the Government.

Annexation of Burma

During the time of Lord Dufferin (1884—1888) the administration of King Thebaw of Burma was extremely bad, and the dacoits had created misrule in the country. Such unsatisfactory conditions caused serious loss to the English traders. The French were the only foreigners who enjoyed special trade concessions through Thebaw's favour. He had imposed a fine of twenty-three lakhs on the Bombay and Burma Trading Company. The English traders sent in complaints to Dufferin against the behaviour of King Thebaw. Thereupon Dufferin wrote a



HIND-PAKISTAN
BURMA AND CEYLON
50 0 50 100 250 Miles
500 100 200 300 400 Km
60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100
35 30 25 20 15 10
65
70 East from Greenwich
80 85 90 95 100
KASMIR
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Peshawar
Srinagar
Rawalpindi
TIBET
Amritsar
Quetta
Lahore
Multan
Kalat
PAKISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
Ambala
Sukkur
Bahawalpur
Meerut
Dihli
NEPAL
Katmandu
R. Brahmaputra
BHUTAN
SIND
Agra
Lucknow
Hyderabad
Ajmer
Kanpur
Karachi
Allahabad
Banares
Patna
BENGAL
PAKISTAN
Dacca
CUTCH
Ahmadabad
Jubbulpor
Indore
Calcutta
Navanagar
Baroda
R. Tapti
Nagpur
Surat
BURMA
INDIA
Chittagong
Cuttak
Bombay
Poona
Sholapur
ARABIAN SEA
Hyderabad
BAY OF BENGAL
R. Kistna
Kakinada
Masulipatanam
Goa
Nellore
R. Pennar
Madras
Bangalore
Mysore
Andaman Islands (to India)
Trichinopoly
Cuchin
Madura
CEYLON
Colombo
Nicobar Islands (to india)

strong note to Thebaw advising him to make good the English traders' losses and also to let an English envoy reside at Mandalay. The King of Burma paid no heed to these demands at all. The Governor-General declared war against Burma; an English army invaded that country and Mandalay was shortly in its hands. Thebaw's power to resist was gone. He was taken prisoner and sent to India in 1886. Thus Northern Burma was annexed by the British, and placed under a chief commissioner. In 1887, the administrative head of the province became the lieutenant-governor instead of a chief commissioner; a legislative council was also set up to which members were nominated by the Government.

Separation of Burma from India

Indian traders and Government servants played an important part in improving administration and economic conditions. But after 1920 owing to widespread political awakening, the Burmese decided to cut themselves off from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It was conceded in 1937 as a result of the recommendations made by the Simon Commission. When the World War II ended, Burma was recognised as an independent country.

Tibet and the Indo-Pak Government

If the annexation of Burma was the result of precautions against the French "danger", the Russian meaning compelled the British to try to bring Tibet under its influence. The Tibetans attacked the tributary state of Sikkim in 1887, which lies in-between Nepal and Bhutan, but were defeated. Since Tibet was politically under China, Britain entered into an agreement with China in 1890, which settled the boundaries of Tibet and Sikkim and also opened up trade relations with Tibet. A trade centre was also started on the border of Tibet and Sikkim to promote trade. But as the Tibetans were unwilling to accept new ideas and customs trade continued at its old level. During the days of Lord Curzon, Dalai Lama, the ruler of Tibet, started

an intrigue with the Russians to free himself from the political authority of China. The Tibetans also started taking possession of the border land of Sikkim. Lord Curzon, thereupon, sent an expedition under Younghusband to punish the Tibetans. The English army occupied Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, on August 3, 1904. The Tibetans at last admitted defeat in September and the Dalai Lama made peace with the British. According to this treaty, the Tibetans had to pay an indemnity of twenty-five lakhs, and also promised not to give trade or other concessions to any foreign power. The British Government on its part acknowledged China as supreme ruler of Tibet.

Results of the Tibet expedition

By this expedition new geographical knowledge was acquired and trade relations were established between Tibet and the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

CHAPTER XLIII

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (1858—1947)

From the Regulating act to the Indian Councils Act, 1861

The first important step in the modern constitutional history of the sub-continent was the Regulating Act of 1773 which gave to the East India Company what may be described as a 'Constitution'. It was drastically amended in 1784 by Pitt's India Act which remained in force for a fairly long time. Slight alterations, however, were made in it from time to time, particularly on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter. The Statute of 1813, for instance, divested the Company of its monopoly of trade between Great Britain and the sub-continent. More important were the changes introduced by the Act of 1833. The legislative powers of the Governor-General and the Council were widened and a new member was added to the Council of India. Macaulay was the first to hold this new office. Twenty years later the Act of 1853 increased the number of the members in the legislative body, gave to the Governor-General the power of veto and introduced the principle of recruitment to services through competition. But after the War of Independence the Parliament decided to take over the administration of the sub-continent from the Company and therefore important changes had to be made in the Government machinery. The Act of 1858 which embodied these changes made provision for a Council of India and a Secretary of State for India. It as through this Council and the Secretary of State that Parliament exercised direct control over the affairs of the sub-continent.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 was destined to be a landmark in the constitutional history of the sub-continent. It empowered the Governor-General to nominate not more than twelve members to the Legislative Council and prescribed that half of them should be non-officials. This opened the door

to the admission of Indo-Pakistanis to the Council. The Government as the Centre was supreme, and the administration of the country was highly centralised.

The adoption of the English language as the medium of higher education had brought about many facilities for contact between the younger generation of Indo-Pakistanis and the English people and thus new social and economic links were forged. The young students through the study of the political classics of English literature were deeply impressed by the two main trends of English political thought—liberalism and democracy. They learnt from their books and their teachers that British liberalism favoured popular government, and that parliamentary sovereignty was a characteristic feature of the British constitution. The result of all these factors was the growth of political consciousness among the Indo-Pakistanis.

The origin of the Indian National Congress

In 1885, seventy-two persons from various parts of the subcontinent attended the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay. They were not anti-British; on the contrary, they appreciated the British rule for creating among them a national consciousness. One of the most active founders of the movement was a British ex-official, Hume. Others, like Yule, Wedderburn and Cotton, were also closely associated with this body. It may be added that from the very outset the Congress was overwhelmingly Hindu in composition. The Muslims, on the other hand, followed the lead of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who belonged to distinguished family of Delhi. He had risen to the highest position that an Indo-Pakistani could attain at that time, *viz.*, the membership of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. He commanded immense influence among the Muslims, his services in the field of education were indeed remarkable. In the face of every conceivable handicap he had created an institution (M.A.O. College) which was an educational and cultural centre where young men were taught to imbibe the

spirit of service to humanity. Sir Syed possessed great political insight. When the Bill for establishing local self-government was passed in 1883, he supported it wholeheartedly. But he knew the difference between England and his country and realized that English institutions could not be transplanted on our soil without drastic modifications. The Congress insisted on developing representative government on the English model. Sir Syed could see the inherent danger of the policy. He said that England was one nation, but the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, with its religious and caste distinctions, could not safely adopt a system which was meant for a homogeneous people. Herein lay the claim for the separate representation of the Muslims in administration and Government. In short he emphasized the point that Indo-Pakistanis were not a single nations. They were composed of two nations—the Hindus and the Muslims—besides smaller nationalities. The Congress, on the other hand, took the view that Indo-Pakistanis were one nation therefore refused to consider the special claims of the Muslims. However, the claim of the Congress to represent all Indo-Pakistanis as a single nation was greatly vitiated by the growing forces of Hindu communalism in its ranks. The extremists among its members belonged to the 'back to the *Vedas*' school. It was mainly a religious and a revivalist movement and extremely anti-Muslim in its outlook. Tilak, a Maharashtrian Brahmin, started what is known as the Shivaji cult. To him Muslims were 'untouchables' and 'foreigners'.

Act of 1892

The next important step in constitutional advancement was the Indian Councils Act of 1892. It increased the number of additional members in the Councils. The supreme Legislative Council was to consist of not less than 10 and not more than 16 additional members. The Madras and Bombay Councils were to consist of not less than 8 and not more than 20; the maximum number of the

additional members of the Bengal Council was raised from 12 to 20, and that of North Western Provinces from 9 to 15. The members of the Councils were authorised to discuss the budget and ask questions on administration. The Governor retained the right of veto.

Partition of Bengal

The enforcement of the new Act was followed, a few years later, by political events of great importance. A new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was constituted by the amalgamation of Assam and Chittagong with 15 districts of old Bengal. Even before the partition of Bengal was completed, a fierce agitation flared up. It was manipulated by the press and the Calcutta Bar. To the Government the partition was a mere readjustment of administrative boundaries, but the educated Hindu Bengali looked upon it as cutting into two the Bengali nation itself. Curzon did not yield and the partition was carried through in 1905.

The establishment of the Muslim League

The agitation on the partition of Bengal and other political factors deeply affected Muslim political opinion. This was manifested in the steps that were taken by the Muslim leaders to lay the foundation of the All-India Muslim League at Dacca in 1906. The majority of those who participated in this inaugural meeting had been in the practical field for a long time and had learnt by experience that the Congress could no longer safeguard the rights of the Muslims and that in the national interest they needed an organization of their own. Many Muslim leaders who had been in the Congress had realised the futility of retaining the membership of a body which had become undisguisedly communal in outlook and practice. The speeches and writings of Hindu extremists, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, opened the eyes of the Muslims. Thus the setting up of the League fulfilled an important national requirements and proved to be one of the most vital steps in the history of the regeneration of the Muslims of the sub-continent.

Morley-Minto Reforms

The Morley-Minto Reforms, named after the then Viceroy and Secretary of State for India, which were embodied in the Indain Councils Act, 1909, were an attempt to control the rising current of political consciousness in the sub-continent. Parliament wanted to check extremism and satisfy the moderates. It was, accordingly, decided (1) to recognise the principle of election for both the central and provincial councils, (2) to enlarge their membership, and (3) to authorise them to discuss and to pass resolutions on any matter of public interest, including the budget. By rules framed under this Act, besides local bodies and universities, chambers of commerce, land-owners and religious minorities —of which the most important were the Muslims—were given representation. The minority communities were also given weightage.

It would be interesting to note the developments which were responsible for the provisions of the Act relating to the representation of minority communities. The demand for separate electorates and weightage was presented to Lord Minto by a Muslim deputation headed by Agha Khan. When the principle of representation had been first introduced in the realm of local government, the Muslims had insisted that election, pure and simple, would not work in this sub-continent. The electoral system of 1892 had already demonstrated the disadvantages that the Muslims were likely to suffer. Of the candidates recommended by the electoral bodies for the Central Legislative Council the Muslims obtained only about half the number to which their numerical strength entitled them. For the United Provinces Council not one Muslim was recommended. Naturally this made them anxious to protect themselves from the tyranny of 'majority rule'. They wanted their own genuine representatives for advocating their cause. In

a general or mixed electorate only those Muslims could get the non-Muslim votes who would be prepared to subordinate their own community's interests to those of the Hindus. Ultimately the Muslim demand presented through a deputation of influential leaders was accepted and the principle of separate electorates conceded.

The agitation against the partition of Bengal developed into a general political ferment throughout the sub-continent, riots occurred not only in Bengal but also at Lahore and Rawalpindi, and the Government had to issue an ordinance to meet the emergency. In 1908, the agitation took the form of terroristic activities and assaults were made on European officials. In 1911, King George V, who had succeeded his father in the previous year, held a Coronation Durbar at Delhi. The annulment of the partition of Bengal was one of the awards announced by the Emperor on this occasion.

The Balkan War

The annulment of the partition of Bengal was a severe blow to the interests of the Muslims. More setbacks were in store for them. The Turko-Italian War (1911) brought them great disappointment because they felt that Turks were let down by Britain. The Balkan War (1912) further disillusioned the Muslims. They thought that it was a plan of the Christian powers to drive away Turkey from Europe and put an end to its power in Europe.

It was under these circumstances that the First World War broke out in 1914. The princes and people supported the British cause and large contingents of Indo-Pakistani troops were sent abroad.

Lucknow Pact 1916

The Morley-Minto Reforms had failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people and the war of 1914 raised their hopes for political emancipation.

So far the League had upheld the principle of separate electorates. In 1916, however, the leaders of both the

communities, Muslim and Hindu, assembled at Lucknow and adopted a joint scheme of constitutional advance. They came to an agreement in regard to the method of election to the councils and the distribution of seats in the legislatures. This agreement is known as the 'Lucknow Pact'. It shows the eagerness of the Muslim leaders, led by the Quaid-i-Azam, to come to terms with the leaders of the Hindu community and present before the British a joint demand for the attainment of self-government.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

In 1947 the British Government through a royal declaration committed itself to granting Dominion Status to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The princes and the people of the sub-continent had made a great contribution to the prosecution of the War and the Government of Lloyd George decided to make an announcement regarding its policy. The principle of responsible government was conceded and by successive stages the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was to become a full-fledged Dominion. Soon after this announcement Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, came to the sub-continent and prepared a Report in association with the Governor-General, Lord Chelmsford. This Report was published in 1918. The main points of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are given below:—

1. The provinces should get more powers.

2. The provincial councils should be enlarged; the majority of the members should be elected.

3. Some subjects known as 'reserved' should remain under the control of the Governor while others to be known as 'transferred' should be controlled by the provincial ministers responsible to the legislatures.

4. The Central Government should have two chambers.

The Government of India Act of 1919 which embodied the

main recommendations of the Report was a very important measure. The most important features of the Reforms were:—

1. A new system of administration, known as Dyarchy, was brought into being.

Dyarchy meant that the provincial administration was to be carried on (a) by the Governor and his Executive Council and (b) by the Governor and his ministers.

2. The reserved subjects, such as finance and law and order, were to be under the Executive Council and the transferred subjects, such as education, public health and local self-government, were to be under the control of the ministers, responsible to legislatures.

3. The number of the members of the Governor's Executive Council could not exceed 4, half of whom were to be Indo-Pakistanis.

4. In regard to the transferred subjects there was no limit to the number of ministers.

5. The Governor was also charged with certain special responsibilities and he could over-rule his ministers in the discharge of these special responsibilities.

For the Centre, the Act of 1919 made the following main provisions:—

1. There was to be no limit on the number of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

2. The Central Legislature consisted of two Chambers, upper house known as the Council of State and a lower house known as the Legislative Assembly.

3. The control of the Government of India over the provinces was unrestrained.

4. There was no responsible government at the Centre and the Governor-General was vested with large powers with regard to finance and legislation.

The Government of India Act, 1919, did not satisfy the aspirations of the peoples of the sub-continent.

Ghandhiji

Already during the War a new leader had appeared in the political field. It was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He attacked the Rowlatt Act (1919) which gave special powers to the Government, to deal with political offences. A campaign of passive civil disobedience against the Act was launched, which culminated in the tragedy of Amritsar, where a number of people were massacred by the English forces led by General Dyer.

In 1920, Ghandhiji launched a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation or passive resistance which aimed at the boycott of British goods and withdrawal of all Indo-Pakistanis from Government service, law courts and Government sponsored institutions. This movement was designed to achieve Swaraj (self-government) within a year.

In this movement the Muslims played a very prominent role. The tragedy at Amritsar evoked a nation-wide protest against the English general's barbarity. In the non-co-operation movement, which was combined with the *Khilafat* movement, the Muslims took more than their due share. They suffered imprisonment, confiscation of properties and other forms of political oppression. The Muslims were convinced that independence had to be snatched from the British, and for that achievement no sacrifice was too great.

In the midst of this struggle a new factor came into prominence. The British attitude towards Turkey after the World War aroused the indignation of the Muslims. They felt that Great Britain was trying to oust Turkey from Europe and there was a combination of Christian powers to destory this Muslim State. The Congress movement was being intensified. In 1920, the Congress boycotted the elections under the Act of 1919. In 1924, it tried to wreck the constitution from within. It must be admitted that Dyarchy, the machinery of dual

government was clumsy and did not work satisfactorily. The relations of the ministers with their colleagues on the 'reserved' side were not harmonious, and the blame for this goes to the framers of the Act and the civil servants.

The communal harmony which had been witnessed during the non-co-operation movement did not prove lasting. With the organization of the Shudhi and the Sanghtan movements communal relations became strained and this development affected the trend of Muslim politics.

Simon Commission

In 1927, a statutory commission, known as the Simon Commission, was appointed. On January 1, 1929, the All India Muslim League under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah adopted a manifesto of Muslim claims emphasising that:—

1. the constitution should be federal,
2. maximum autonomy should be granted to the provinces.
3. residual powers should remain with the provinces, and
4. separate electorates and weightage should be retrained for the minorities.

The purely British personnel of the Simon Commission was deeply resented by the Indian National Congress and the Commission was boycotted by that organization. Its report was published in 1930. The Congress rejected it and the same year another civil disobedience movement was launched by Gandhiji. It began with the march to the sea to break the salt laws. Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, acted promptly and firmly. At the All India Muslim Conference in 1930 Maulana Mohammad 'Ali attacked the Congress for the later's communal tendencies. In the meantime the Hindu Mahasabha, formed in 1928 for the conservation and purification of Hinduism, had assumed an aggressively anti-Muslim attitude.

The British Government decided to convene a Round Table Conference. Its session was held in London in December, 1930. The Congress boycotted the Conference. But when the second session of the Conference was held in September 1931, Gandhiji attended it as the sole official spokesman of the Congress. To him the Congress was the only representative organisation of the people of the sub-continent and he was the master of the Congress. The question of communal representation could not be settled by any agreed formula and the British Premier, Mac Donald, had to announce the Communal Award in 1932; it was based mainly on the Lucknow Pact, the new features being reservation of seats for women and recognition of the depressed classes as a separate community. But by resorting to a 'fast unto death' Gandhiji secured an amendment in the practical application of the 'Communal Award' through the 'Poona Pact'. The third and the last session of the Round Table Conference was held in November, 1932. The main outcome of all these activities was the acceptance of the principle of federalism.

The Act of 1935

In 1933 the proposals adopted by the British Government were submitted to the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament with which leading Indo-Pakistani members of the Conference were associated. In 1934, a bill embodying its recommendations was introduced. After its passage through Parliament, it received the royal assent on August 4, 1935.

The Government of India Act, 1935, provided a Federation for the sub-continent and a new constitution for the provinces of the British India on the basis of Provincial Autonomy. The provincial part of the Act came into force on April 1, 1937, but the provisions relating to Central Government did not come into operation.

The more important provisions of the Act relating to the provinces may be summarised as below:—

1. It provided for the creation of two new provinces of Sind and Orissa. The number of provinces now rose to eleven.
2. It established Provincial Autonomy except for certain "safeguards".
3. All departments of provincial administration were now to be controlled by ministers responsible to the legislature. The Governor was to exercise his individual judgment in matters called 'Special Responsibilities'.
4. The Governor could assume control of the whole administration if, in his opinion, the Government of the Province could not be carried on through constitutional channels.
5. The representation in the legislature was to be in accordance with 'Communal Award' as modified by the 'Poona Pact'.

The more important provisions of the Federal part of the Act may be summarised thus:—

1. It established a bicameral Federal Legislature. The representatives of British India in the lower house were to be directly elected on population basis; in the upper house they were to be indirectly elected, *i.e.*, by the Provincial Legislatures. The representatives of the States were to be appointed to both the Houses by the rulers.
2. List of subjects in which Federal or Provincial Legislatures had sole or concurrent authority were drawn up.
3. Dyarchy was introduced at the Centre. All departments except Defence and Foreign affairs

were to be controlled by ministers responsible to the Legislature. Foreign Affairs and Defence were to be under Councillors appointed by and responsible to the Governor-General.

4. The cost of the reserved departments was a first charge on the revenues of the Federation and was withdrawn from the vote of the Legislature.
5. Currency was to be controlled by the Reserve Bank.

CHAPTER XLIV

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the East India Company founded the Fort William College in Calcutta with the object of instructing in oriental arts and sciences its freshly arrived servants so that they should be able to better understand the minds of Indians. Dr. Gilchrist, the first Principal of this college, was both a scholar and supporter of Urdu. He wrote a grammar of this language and through his efforts brought together a number of capable men for writing and compiling books, including Mir Amman of Delhi and Mir Sher 'Ali Afsos. This department of literary production at Fort William College had for its object the writing of books in simple Urdu. It was then given the name of Hindustani. The books thus written were to serve as a model of common language. In order to popularise it among the Hindus some books were written in 'Devanagri characters'. Among the Hindu literary men working at Fort William College there were such as made the language heavy and artificial by introducing Sanskrit words. The Hindi-Urdu controversy started now and became more and more complicated as time went on. The East India Company officials were desirous of bringing simple Urdu into vogue because the newly arrived Englishmen could pick it up easily. For their use, Mir Amman wrote his famous story book "*Bagh-o-Bahar*", the language of which is quite free from artificiality. He has used the Delhi Fort language in this book so skilfully that later on it became the normal style of expression.

When English became the court language, Persian gradually fell into disuse, Urdu taking its place. Besides being the language of ordinary conversation, Urdu was now adopted as a medium of expression by learned men also who had so far used Persian as the language of literary compilation and production. Urdu translation of the Holy Qur'an had already become popular

during the middle of the nineteenth century, and a large number of tracts dealing with religious controversy began to appear in this language. The Hindus as well as the Muslims published their books on religious controversy in Urdu. Although Lord William Bentinck had made English the court language, yet Urdu was still the language of lower offices for all manner of proceedings. In short, Urdu was progressing on its own without any Government help or encouragement before the War of Independence in 1857 A.C., and developing through its own inner vitality. Before this War and also after it, Mirza Ghalib rendered a great service to the cause of Urdu prose by introducing a style of Urdu writing which was at once simple and natural. Ghalib's letters which have appeared under the two separate names of '*Urdu-e-Mu'alla*' and '*Ood-i-Hindi*' put before us a model of eloquent Urdu.

After 1857 A.C., a great change took place in the life of the inhabitants of northern Hind-Pakistan. Such changes inevitably leave their mark on literature. The new conditions demanded a new style of expression and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan provided the means necessary for the development of such style. He and his companions started a movement for the reform of his community. To achieve success it was essential that he should use a language intelligible to everyone. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote a number of books, and expressed his views on all kinds of problems, social and religious. He gave a new turn to the style of Mir Amman and Mirza Ghalib.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's greatness lies not only in his rendering meritorious deeds, worthy of being written in letters of gold in the history of Indo-Pakistan Muslims, but also in the fact that he infused his fellow workers with his own zeal and enthusiasm. We can, for example, count the literary services of Azad, Ḥali, Shibli and Nazir Aḥmad as to a large extent due to Sir Syed's influence.

They all raised Urdu prose to its utmost height in their own characteristic style. They enriched this language with the right type of criticism and research. Biography, history, memoirs, stories of social reform—all are found in their works. Each one of them has a style of his own. But what is common to them all is the fact that for purposes of research and investigation they have utilised Urdu with great skill.

Co-workers of Sir Syed

Azad and Ḥali tried to strike out a new path for Urdu poetry. Urdu poetry was almost exclusively love poetry. There is no doubt that this branch of poetry reached its perfection through the labours of Ghalib, Momin and Zauq. But times had now changed. It was more important to observe facts than to indulge in fanciful conceits. Love stroies appeared to be out of place after the calamities of 1857. Influenced by the reformative spirit of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Azad and Ḥali turned to the field of verse. Azad founded the Anjuman-i-Punjab (The Punjab Association) at Lahore which held poetical symposiums where poems were read on special topics. It was a permanent literary movement which aimed at the growth and development of depicting nature. One characteristic of the movement is that various types of verses were introduced into Urdu through the influence of English. Azad appreciated English literature and wished to enrich Urdu with it.

In his *Muqaddamah-i-Shi'r-o-Sha'iri* (Introduction to poetry and versification) Ḥali criticised '*ghazal*' (erotic verse) and pointed out that this branch of poetry was devoid of reality, and that only artificial passions were expressed in it. He laid greater stress on ethical ideas than on love themes. At Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's instance, he composed his famous '*Musaddas*' in which he has beautifully depicted the rise and fall of the Muslims. This poem laid the foundation of a new type of verse in which nationalistic ideas were expressed. On this foundation Iqbal raised the edifice of his incomparable poetry.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his fellow workers put the Muslims on the path of advancement, and made them eager to study western arts and sciences without which they could not progress in the race of life. Although Shibli is counted as one belonging to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's band, he found less in western life which deserved praise. On the other hand, he found more in it which merited criticism. He appreciated the older system of life and wished to revive Islamic education. With this object he founded the '*Nadvat-ul-'Ulama*' at Lucknow. This institution imparted instruction in oriental subjects on modern lines. The theological college of Deoband, on the other hand, continued to teach its students along old lines. This was the main difference between the two colleges. Shibli's works on Islamic history and the Prophet's biography rank very high.

Akbar of Allahabad

Among the critics of western civilisation, Akbar of Allahabad deserves special notice. He severely criticised the western civilisation and warned the Muslims against the dangers of materialism and devotion to the West. It thus became possible for the Muslims to keep a balance between their ideas and actions. Had it not been so, there was a danger of their being swept away by the flood of western education and civilisation.

Iqbal

Iqbal combines in his poetry the features of the verse of both Ḥali and Akbar. He wished to make progress an integral principle of Islamic life. He did not content himself with bewailing the glorious past. He turned the mind of the nation to the unlimited possibilities of the future. Iqbal's point of view was much broader than that of his forerunners. He combined in his personality the East and West, like the confluence of two streams. The breadth and profundity of his verse are due to his masterly assimilation of both eastern and western literature and philosophy. He has

recorded himself as philosopher and poet in words of great beauty.

Iqbal wished to subject to control and discipline the individual and communal life of the Muslims through his poetry, so that they could occupy an honourable place among the nations of the world. The idea of the new age of man as presented by him is so full of life that it will last for ever. The effectiveness of his verse will increase with the passage of time. The literary history of the world presents no parallel of a poet who stirred so many hearts with such ardour as did Iqbal the Indo-Pakistan Muslims. The reason for his success was that he chose as the theme of his verse those aspects of life which mould the character of nations and enable them to advance.

Iqbal's voice was that of a wandering *darvesh.* It is ringing in our ears even today. He stirred into activity a whole nation that was asleep and taught it the ways to achieve greatness. His unbounded sincerity made his voice effective. He occupies a sublime place as a poet and reformer. His influence as a poet during the last thrity years of Urdu poetry is phenomenal. Even those poets whose views differed from his could not keep their minds altogether unaffected by Iqbal's influence.

Other Urdn poets

As a case in point one may cite the famous poet Josh. His verse is diametrically opposed to that of Iqbal so far as their themes are concerned. But in his verse, too, we come across numerous expressions and sets of words which Iqbal has already used. Again we find Josh singing of matters affecting the life of the nation, though his line is different. This applies also to Simab.

Among the other famous Urdu poets of the twentieth century are Chakbast, Akhtar and Ḥafeez who deserve to be mentioned. There is considerable variety in the themes of their poetry. Ḥafeez, to begin with, created a place for himself by writing Urdu songs. Then he rendered a national service by writing the *Shah-Namah-i-Islam,*

The new style that Azad, Ḥali and Isma'il of Meerut introduced has made considerable progress during the last sixty or seventy years. People thought that owing to the demands of present life this sounded the death knell of *ghazal* for ever. But it turned out to possess great vitality and held its own with the newly adopted poetic forms. After the master-poets like Amir Minai and Dagh, *ghazal* took up a different role. Freshness and ingenuity mark the expression of passion and imagination. In this connection Ḥasrat Mohani deserves particular mention. In his verse he has successfully combined the characteristics of Mir, Ghalib and Momin. It is no more than his due to call him one of the greatest masters of *ghazal* because of the reality of his mental experiment and the freshness of his use of words. Among the *ghazal* writers of the present day Fani, T͟haqib, Ṣafi, 'Aziz, Jalil, Āsghar and Jigar deserve special mention. They have all recorded life experiences in imagination and passion through the medium of *ghazal*, thereby enriching our language.

Urdu prose

During the last seventy or eighty years novel and story writing have made great strides in Urdu. In the beginning imagination played the major part, but slowly facts began to assert themselves. Rajab 'Ali Surur, Ratan Nath Sarshar, 'Abdul Ḥalim Sharar, Muhammad Hadi Ruswa, Munshi Sajjad Husain and Maulvi Nazir Aḥmad added a new variety to the Urdu literature through their characterisation. Later on, Prem Chand brought characterisation still closer to reality. In the modern movement, Krishn Chander acquired particular fame reflecting in some of his writings the modern revolutionary movements.

Translations rendered from English or other European languages were greatly helpful in making Urdu a scientific language. The movement for translations originally came from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He founded a society for this purpose.

This very work was carried on a large scale in the Delhi College. The work performed by the translation department of the 'Usmania University in this field is of particular importance. About thirty years ago, Urdu was adopted as the medium of instruction for higher education, for which object scientific books were translated into Urdu. The services performed by the translation department of the 'Usmania University cannot be ignored in the history of Urdu literature. Besides this body, the *Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, *Dar-ul-Musannifin* of Azamgarh, *Maktabah-i-Jamia-i-Millia*, and the *Hindustani Academy* of Allahabad have done much to raise the status of Urdu as a literary and scientific language. Newspapers and magazines too, have played an important part in the propagation of Urdu.

Hindu-Urdu controversy

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Hindu movement of renaissance gathered force, and with it the possionate desire that Hindi should be the national language since it is essentially a pure language of the country and not an admixture of foreign words which are found in Urdu. This mentality concerning the language was based on narrow-mindedness. The supporters of Hindi simultaneously began their efforts to oust Urdu as a court language from Behar and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. For this purpose, a number of leading Hindus founded an academy at Banaras in 1867 and set up its branches at other places too.

On this occasion Sir Syed Ahmed Khan made a public statement to the effect that Hindus and Muslims could no longer march together as a nation. He wrote articles in support of Urdu and opposed those who wished to drive out Urdu from the courts of Behar and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Hindi-Urdu controversy lighted the fire of mutual distrust among the educated Hindus and Muslims of northern Hind-Pakistan. This controversy signified that Hindu national

and Muslim national movements had separate aims. The solution of the language problem presented by the Indian National Congress was the Hindustani, which could be written in Persian or Nagri script. But in 1937 when certain provinces had Congress Ministries, the zeal with which Hindi was patronised made the Muslims and the supporters of Urdu suspicious of Congress claims. This made it manifestly clear to the Muslims that the danger to Urdu and the other common elements of Indian civilisation was no imaginary one, but had become real and pressing.

Bengali

Like Urdu and Hindi the initial development of Bengali, too, bears the hall-mark of Fort William. Since the English first came in contact with Bengalis, Bengali was necessarily influenced by Western literature before any other language of India.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century certain Bengali writers formed a society which included among its members men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Akshay Kumar Dutt, Ishwara Chandra Vidya Sagar, Maha Rishi Devindra Nath Tagore and Raj Narain Bose. The object of this society was to promote the Bengali language. Through the efforts of these men Bengali very soon started on the path of progress and through Western, influence it absorbed and propagated thoughts so far unknown to the other languages of India. Madhu Sudan Dutt as a poet and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee as a novelist considerably raised the status of Bengali. We come across topics of every variety, social political, historical and romantic in the novels of Bankim Chandra. He is a great critic of Western civilisation. Madhu Sudan first wrote in English; later when he thought of the claims of Bengali, he made it a vehicle of expressing his thoughts.

Rabindra Nath Tagore

Rabindra Nath Tagore has had the greatest share in raising the status of Bengali as a language. He acquired international reputation both as a poet and prose writer. His study and his

sympathies were both wide. He had particularly profound insight into the Hindu civilisation, which is evident from his writings. Tagore's influence was not restricted to Bengali alone; on the other hand, Gujrati, Marathi and Hindi also benefited from him. Tagore's famous poem *Gitanjali* won him the Noble Prize.

Novelists

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee is worthy of special notice among the Bengali novelists. He has beautifully depicted the life of the afflicted and of those who have lagged behind in the race of life. Again there are living portraits of the helpless life of Indian women in Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's novels. His writings introduced realism into Bengali. He occupies the same place in Bengali as Prem Chand occupies in Urdu and Hindi. Drama found a more prominent place in Bengali than in any of the other Indo-Pakistan languages. Bengalis are more musical as compared with others. Through Western influences a new type of music was introduced in Bengal.

Nadhrul Islam

Several Muslim poets are worthy of mention in the literary history of Bengal. The most famous of them all is Nadhrul Islam who infused a new spirit into the nation by expressing martial sentiments. He introduced an innovation in Bengali by using a large number of Arabic and Persian words and by adopting Arabic and Persian metres. His epic poems won much praise. Nobility of expression is a characteristic of his verse. His poems are equally popular among the high and the low, and are frequently sung as "*Nadhrul Sangit*, Another Muslim poet who has acquired fame in Bengali is Jasim-ud-din.

There is a branch of Bengali literature, known as "*Puthi*", which is especially popular with the less educated classes. The subject-matter of this literature are those historical and romantic stories which are presented in metrical form. The language used in it is largely that which is in general use in Muslim

families, and which has a high percentage of Arabic and Persian words.

Painting

The art of painting greatly improved in the sub-continent during the last hundred years. As in other aspects of life, we find in this art the influence of the West. Painting came into prominence first of all in Bengal. Abendra Nath Tagore, Surendra Ganguli, Nand Lal Bose and Ashok Kumar Haldar rose to particular fame in painting. Among the Muslim painters of Bengal Zainul 'Abidin has made a name in recent years. Besides the Bengali School, Chaghtai obtained international fame in the field of painting. In the art of all these painters introspection, which has long been a characteristic of our arts, is predominant.

Architecture

Architecture made no particular progress during the period of British rule. But this much did happen that buildings started to be constructed from the utilitarian of view. The style that was introduced by the P. W. D. for public buildings was uncouth and colourless. Throughout the country there are buildings which lack all sense of the indigenous culture. But in the New Delhi architecture an effort has been made to combine the Hindu and Muslim traditions of the art with Western influences. This experiment has been successful to a great extent. At Hyderabad (Deccan) also the university buildings are important from the architectural point of view. But at the same time, there are buildings in Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and Lahore which revel the ineffective and colourless character of the new architecture. The new Bharat and Pakistan have yet to evolve an architecture which will combine utilitarianism with art.

Music

After the disruption of the Mughul Empire, music found an asylum in the durbars of rajas and nawwabs. They tried to vie with each other in offering patronage to musicians and instrumentalists. In the north the rulers of Rampur and Lucknow specially patronised music,

and some of them (Wajid 'Ali Shah, for example) were themselves expert musicians and were also the authors of highly prized books on music. With the evolution of music '*Khayal*' became increasingly popular. *Khayal* is an invention of the Muslims. Another type of light music, called *Thumri*, also came into existence in the Lucknow durbar. *Thumri* is very much appreciated even today. Muhammad Raḍa, a musician of Lucknow, cast music according to scientific principles, inventing ten fundamental *thaths* or *ragas* which were further improved by Pundit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkand.

Among the musicians of our day Naseer Khan created a name for himself in *Dhurpat*, and Faiyaḍ Khan and 'Abdul Wahid Khan rose to fame in *Khayal*. Wazir Khan acquired masterly perfection in playing upon *rubab*, 'Inayat Khan in playing upon guitar (*sitar*) and Bundu Khan in playing upon *sarangi*. Our poets also played a part in popularising music. Their poetry itself is a rhythm. The songs of Iqbal and Nadhrul Islam assuming the garb of music sink into the depths of people's hearts.

Modern inventions have greatly helped in carrying music to every nook and corner of the country. The radio and gramophone are great powerful means for the propagating of the love of music.

CHAPTER LXV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Hindu Society

The caste-ridden Hindu society was profoundly influenced during the nineteenth century by contact with the West. The English liberal movement, which condemned slavery and gave religious freedom to the Catholics, and the vigorous missionary propaganda in the sub-continent which resulted in the conversion to Christianity of a large number of Hindus, especially the lower classes, produced reactions. Thoughtful men turned, as they had done in an earlier period through contact with Islam, to the reform of Hinduism and gave it a new vigour by purging it of social in-equalities and emphasising the worship of one God. The Hindu reform movement took the shape of the Brahmo-Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission.

Brahmo Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Bengal, profound scholar of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English, Greek and Hebrew. He raised his voice against idol worship, superstitious prac-tices and social injustice and lent his whole-hearted support to Lord William Bentinck in his efforts to abolish the cruel practice of *sati.* He preached monotheism and social eqality. Though the Brahmo Samaj did not gain many converts, beyond a few intellectuals, it produced men of great talent and ability like Akshay Kumar Dutt, Maharishi Devendranath Tagore and his son Rabindra Nath Tagore. For many years its influence was all-pervading in every walk of Bengali life. It produced a succession of men without whom the intellectual and spiritual life of Hindu Bengal would have been poor. The Brahmo Samaj did what orthodox Hinduism was powerless to do. It provided a system under which men could worship without idolatory and approach God without the mediation of priests.

Prarthana Samaj

The Prarthana Samaj which worked in Bombay and South India had aims almost identical with those of the Brahmo Samaj. It worked for the simplification of religion and its release from the trammels of caste. Though like the Brahmo Samaj it did not count many proselytes it produced men like Justice Ranade, and Sir R.G. Bhandarkar. From the Prarthana Samaj was evolved a great educational and social service institution, the Servants of India Society.

Arya Samaj

Another revivalist movement was organised under the name of Arya Samaj, an aggressive proselytising movement started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in the eighties of the nineteenth century. His goal was the revival of the old Aryan religion. Its special feature was to admit converts to Hinduism from adherents of other faiths, a feature hitherto unknown to Hindu religion. It later gave birth to the Shudhi and Sanghtan movements after the First World War.

Ramakrishna Mission

The Ramakrishna Mission was started by Swami Vivekananda to commemorate his teacher, Ramakrishna Paramhamsa of Calcutta. Like the missionary movements of Christianity, it propagated its teachings through missions started in different places in the sub-continent. Besides condemning narrowness in religion, it lays great stress on social service and brings comfort to the distressed, the sick and the needy. Once a year the members of this fraternity offer a feast to the poor, who are revered by them as deities.

The reform movements failed to effect any large-scale change in Hindu society. When reforms failed, the task was taken up by legislators. In the teeth of great opposition from orthodox Hinduism, Rai Harbilas Sarda succeeded in having the Sarda Marriage Act passsed in 1933, making the marriage of girls under the age of 14 and boys under 18 cognizable offences.

Efforts were then directed in the Central Legislature towards legislation on divorce and remarriage of Hindu widows.

The Harijan movement

Another social movement of the twentieth century is the struggle of the untouchables of the sub-continent, numbering about seven crores, for the abolition of untouchability and the recognition of their legitimate rights in society. Being down-trodden for centuries and oppressed by the caste Hindus a considerable number saved themselves by adopting Christianity. With the spread of English education, they demanded political and civic rights. Their cause was championed by leaders like Mr. M. C. Raja and Dr. Ambedkar. Gandhiji gave to the social uplift of the Harijans a prominent place in his programme of social reform. The movement secured for the untouchables a fixed percentage in the services, and representation in legislatures, though not on the basis of separate electorates largely because the idea was opposed by Gandhiji.

Muslim Society

The War of Independence affected profoundly the social life of the Muslims, an account of which is to be found in Chapters XLVI and XLVII.

Economic conditions

The-Indo-Pakistan sub-continent being predominantly an agricultural region, a vast majority of the people lives in villages. The typical Indo-Pakistani village had remained a self-sufficient economic unit till as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, except in respect of such commodities as salt, etc. Besides the cultivator and the landless labourer there also lived in the village artisans and handicraftsmen. Commodities were generally exchanged directly without the medium of money. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, new forces caused a gradual breaking up of the self-sufficiency of the villages. The pattern of the Indo-Pakistani foreign trade underwent a change as a result of the advent of the East India Company; its volume

increased and its composition was affected. This necessitated the linking of rural areas with towns, and towns with port through improved means of communication. Money economy was introduced and encouraged and the villager became dependent on the outside world not only for the disposal of his produce but, also for the supply of his own requirements.

In the towns handicrafts suffered greatly owing to competition from imported machine-made goods, the decline of the princely courts which used to patronise them, the acquirement of a taste for Western products and Western way of living by the upper classes, and lastly the introduction and extension of railways in the nineteenth century.

Thus we find that industry and agriculture were not in a flourishing state in 1857. Whereas science was being increasingly applied to agriculture in the West, thus materially raising the average produce from land and along with it the standard of living of the agriculturist, the peasants in the sub-continent were as ignorant and conservative as ever. The joint family and the caste systems were further responsible for the lack of will on their part to better their living conditions. On top of this, famines were a prominent feature of Indo-Pakistani economic life. The usual cause of famine was drought. The recurrence of famines now in one part of the country, now in another, and occasionally almost throughout the vast sub-continent, rendered agriculture extremely precarious. The distress caused by famines in the North Western Provinces in 1860-61, in Rajputana in 1868, in the South from 1876 to 1878, was terrible. The Central Government took some steps to check famines and their injurious effects, but it was only gradually that they could even partly be controlled. As a result of this, as also of the fact that the average holding was exceedingly small, the peasant was heavily in debt. The village *bania*, the *mahajan*, provided him with easy credit, and once

the peasant got into his clutches it was seldom he could free himself. Thus the burden of indebtedness tended continually to increase, and the peasant was often compelled to give up proprietary rights in his land and became a landless labourer.

With this background we may now trace the main trends of economic events in the sub-continent after 1857. The first thing that engages our attention is the extension of railways. The three hundred open miles of railways existing in 1857 increased to thirty-seven thousand and twenty by 1921-22. Hand in hand with railways went the constrution of metalled roads and canals. These changes had their own effects on the economic life of the people. The percentage of agricultural to the total population increased to 70.9 in 1921. Village self-sufficiency was almost gone, and the opening up of the country-side led, among other things, to partial commercialisation of agriculture. The construction of canals along with that of railways and roads reduced the intensity of famines and the extent of damage done by them. At the same time certain new and large-scale industries of modern type were coming into being. The plantations in Assam, the jute industry in Calcutta and the cotton textile industry in Bombay may be mentioned as illustrations. With their progress the hitherto unemployed artisan and the landless agricultural labourer began to move into industrial towns like Kanpur and Ahmadabad. The industries, however, could not rise to their full stature till they had received the impetus given by the World War of 1914—18 and the much needed protection against foreign competition as a result of the Fiscal Commission's recommendation in 1924. The "great depression" of 1929—35 hit them hard, but they came once again into their own during World War II.

Industrial progress was necessarily accompanied by the rise of modern banking in the country. Co-operative societies and other semi-Governmental and purely-Governmental agencies

were set up to remedy the evils of small holdings caused by the fragmentation and sub-division of land, and rural indebtedness saw its burden also somewhat lightened. Owing, however, to the magnitude of the problems very little was achieved by these agencies till 1947. The average holding was still ridiculously small in most parts of the country and rural indebtedness, in spite of money-lending restriction Acts passed by many provinces, did not diminish to any significant extent. A few cottage industries, chiefly the handloom weaving industry, have survived partly due to their own inner strength of organisation and structure, and partly due to a country wide campaign launched by political leaders in their favour. Some of our economists regarded these cottage industries as the real strength of the national economy.

The growth of industries brought in its wake the problem of industrial labour. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the conditions of industrial labour were miserable. Trade unions and labour legislation could not materially change them till after the First World War. But even today these conditions need considerable improvement.

One would sum up with the remark that British policy regarding the economic development of the sub-continent was grossly selfish. The sub-continent was intended to continue as a colony of Britain, and hence the producer of raw materials alone. But the folly of their policy was brought home to the British rulers during the two World Wars, as an insufficiently industriailsed region could not be as strong and useful an ally as a highly industrialised one.

Causes of Muslim backwardness in the economic field

The Muslims of the sub-continent, who had taken a leading part in the War of Independence of 1857, had to pay dearly for their love of freedom. The British suppressed the Muslims in every field and favoured the Hindus particulatly in Bengal. This was the beginning of the policy of 'divide and rule', which later on

became the sheet-anchor of British imperialism in the sub-continent. By 1909, when separate electorates were conceded to the Muslims by the Minto-Morley Reforms, due to this policy of the British Government they had sunk so low in the political, social and economic spheres of life that they were unable to compete with the Hindus on fair ground. Through separate representation an attempt was therefore made to lower the scales slightly in their favour in the hope of checking the growing strength of Hindu nationalism. But the process as modified and even reversed when and where it suited the British.

On the other hand, the Hindus took full advantage of the situation as soon as they realised that the British power had come to stay. They took to Government service and early saw the benefits of modern education. They began to rise in trade, commerce and later in industry. Scientific and technical education, the very basis of industrial order, was pursued with vigour and advantage. It brought them leadership in most walks of life, leaving the Muslims behind. Once their leadership became assured, they saw to it that they not only retained it but that the Muslims were definitly left out of the field. They used their political, commercial and financial resources to shut the doors of economic progress on the Muslims.

It would be unfair to throw the entire responsibility of the economic backwardness of the Muslims on the Hindus. The Muslims are to be held partially responsible because they could not adjust themselves to their changed position. They suffered from despair and frustration which bred inactivity and demoralisation and greatly contributed to the success of the Hindus in keeping them away from the political and economic life of the sub-continent. The Aligarh Movement, which was started by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the establishment of the M. A. O. College, which later developed into the Muslim University, was a turning point

in the life of the Muslims. They became politically conscious and started taking steps to organize themselves to undo the mischief that had been caused by their opponents and rivals under the short sighted policy of the British. At the beginning of the twentieth century some of their leaders laid the foundation of the Muslim League which after a long and chequered career, became their national organisation and ultimately succeeded in securing to them not only a due share in the political life of the country but also a homeland for the majority of them.

MUSLIM MOVEMENTS

Shah Waliullah and the religious movements

Shah Waliullah

Through the history of Islam in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent saints, reformers and religious thinkers have risen from time to time and tried to deepen the religious consciousness of their co-religionists on the one hand and convey the message of Islam to the non-Muslims on the other. One of the most prominent of these reformer-saints was Shah Waliullah who was born at Delhi in 1703, *i.e.*, four years before the death of Aurangzib. His father was a religious scholar of eminence and was one of the authors of the *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*—the historic code of *Hanafi Law*, prepared under the orders and patronage of Aurangzib. Shah Waliullah completed his studies at an early age and started teaching in the Madrasah maintained by his father. In addition to his work of imparting instruction he devoted most of his time to writing books. On attaining intellectual maturity and mastery over most of the Islamic sciences, he left for the Hejaz at the age of twenty-nine to perform Hajj and complete his studies under the celebrated teachers of the holy places. On his return, after two years' stay in Arabia, he devoted himself more and more to writing, and when he died at the age of sixty-three, he left behind him a whole library of profound and scholarly works on *Tafsir* (Exegesis), *Hadith* (Traditions of the Holy Prophet), Islamic Jurisprudence, Islamic History, Metaphysics, *Tasawwuf* and various other branches of Islamic learning.

Shah Waliullah was easily the greatest scholar of Islamiyyat produced by this sub-continent, but he was much more than a scholar. He was a great thinker and a great reformer. His first objective was to deepen the religious consciousness of the Muslims and inculcate in them a proper understanding of

true Islam. This was not possible without an intelligent study of the *Holy Qur'an*—the ultimate source book of Islamic religion and law—but the Holy Book was in Arabic and the literary language of the Muslims was Persian. Evidently, therefore, very few Muslims properly understood the meaning of the Qur'anic text. So the first task, to which Shah Waliullah set himself, was a Persian translation of the *Holy Qur'an*, which he completed in 1737. This was the first translation of the *Holy Qur'an* into Persian. Shah Waliullah, by his wise and bold step, paved the way for the understanding of the Holy Book by everybody who knew Persian and thus opened a new chapter in the history of Islamic sutdies in this sub-continent. His two sons, Shah Rafi'-ud-din and Shah 'Abdul Qadir followed his noble example and translated the Holy Book into Urdu.

Shah Walliullah's second claim to the gratitude of posterity was his balanced view of religious controversies. In several of his works he has successfully reconciled many of the serious differences which existed between the various schools of Islamic thought.

Shah Waliullah's third achievement was the stimulus he gave to social and religious reforms. Before him, religion was considered very largely to be a matter of belief and worship, but Shah Waliullah held that religion must affect our daily lives and make us better and nobler human beings. He dwelt on this at great length in his well-known Arabic works *Hujjat-Ullah-al-Balighah* as well as in other books and pamphlets.

Shah Walliullah's work was carried on by his sons, two of whom have already been mentioned. The third—Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz—was for almost half a century, the most respected scholar and teacher of Islamic sciences at Delhi. He carried forward the traditions of his father through advocating social reforms in a quiet and constructive manner.

Reform movement

Shah Waliullah had sown the seed of intellectual and social reform. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz had nurtured the seed, but it was under the care of his three disciples that the plant came to full bloom. The intellecutal brains behind the movement for social and religious reforms—often wrongly called Wahabi Movement—which swept the nineteenth century were Shah Isma'il Shahid and Maulana 'Abdul Hayy, the newphew and the son-in-law respectively of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz; but the political and spiritual leadership of the movement was in the hands of Hadrat Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, another disciple of 'Abdul 'Aziz. Owing to the efforts of these stalwarts—particularly Shah Isma'il Shahid who was a great orator and a master of vigorous Urdu prose—the reforms which Shah Waliullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz had advocated in class-rooms were now preached from the pulpit and the steps of *Jami'Masjid* of Delhi and other public platforms. Shah Isma'il Shahid and his companions advocated a return to the purity of early Islam and asked for the abandonment of all those harmful and extravagant social practices, which the Muslims had acquired through contact with their Hindu neighbours. For example, these reformers advocated widow re-marriage which was considered objectionable in Hindu society and asked the Muslims to give up expensive ceremonies at the time of marriage and other festive occasions. They also severely condemned gambling, wine drinking and prostitution—evils which had crept into Muslim society, particularly among the upper classes.

Jihad

This movement was to begin with one of religious and social reform but soon it was diverted into political and military channels. The Punjab and the greater part of what is now the N.W.F.P. were held, at that time, by the Sikhs who had forbidden the call of *Adhan* and who used to interfere with Muslim religious practices.

When the heart-rending details of their persecution reached Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvi, it was decided at the instance of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz to start a holy war (*jihad*) against the Sikhs. For this purpose, Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvi, with his two illustrious comrades and hundreds of other followers entered the Sikh dominion, travelling through Bahawalpur, Sind and Afghanistan and started a *jihad* against the Sikhs. In the beginning the *mujahids* were victorious and the Afghan governor who had been appointed by Ranjit Singh had to surrender Peshawar. But later Ranjit Singh sent General Ventura with reinforcement and also tried to create disruption in the camp of the *mujahids* through his agents who described Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvi's reforms as un-Islamic. Unluckily the ground for social and religious reforms had not been prepared in the Frontier area as had been done at Delhi by Shah Waliullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz; and many of the people of the Frontier became victims of the machinations of the Sikh propagandists. Political bribery also played its part and several local chiefs rose against the *mujahids*, many of whom were murdered. The army of Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvi was finally annihilated on the 6th May, 1831, at Balakot where in addition to Sayyid Sahib, Shah Isma'il Shahid and other leaders of the movement died a martyr's death fighting bravely against a far bigger and better equipped army.

The military disaster at Balakot meant a great set-back to the movement but the work was carried on though on a much smaller scale. The purely scholastic side of Shah Waliullah's mission was carried on by Shah Muḥammad Isḥaq, who had succeeded his grandfather, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, in 1824. He gave moral and financial support to the movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvi but when he saw that the movement had failed and conditions in the sub-continent had further deteriorated, he migrated to Mecca in 1842. Amongst those who studied under him were Syed Aḥmed Khan, the founder of the Aligrah

Movement and the M. A. O. College, and Ḥaji Imdadullah whose disciples included Maulana Muhammad Qasim and other founders of the religious seminary at Deoband.

Ḥaji Imdadullah, Maulana Muhammad Qasim and a few other *'ulama* took an active part in the War of Independence and, after the triumph of the British arms, migrated to Mecca. Haji Imdadullah stayed on in the Ḥejaz but others returned to the sub-continent and some ten years after the War of Independence a small school was established at Deoband to keep alive the religious and academic traditions of Shah Waliullah. Generally speaking, the leaders of the Deoband school followed the anti-British policy of their predecessors. Owing to the piety and devotion of some of the scholars who were from time to time associated with Deoband, it became the biggest school of Islamic learning in the sub-continent.

The military and political work of Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvi was continued by Maulvi Wilayat 'Ali of Sadiqpur (Patna). After the collapse of the Sikh power in the Punjab and the north-western territories, the *mujahids* came into conflict with their successors—the British—and fought against them many a battle. They received help from their co-religionists in different parts of the sub-continent in the form of men and money. This led to the so-called "Wahabi trials" of Ambala (1864) and Patna (1871), as a result of which many pious *'ulama* were transported to the Andamans.

The Faraidi Movement of East Bengal

During the first half of the nineteenth century Bengal also produced a reformist movement with certain distinctive features of its own. The founder of the Faraidi sect, Ḥaji Shari'atullah, was a man of remarkable character. At the early age of 18 he went on pilgrimage to Mecca where he became a disciple of Shaikh Tahir-al-Sunbul-al-Makki. After an absence of about 20 years when he was returning to his home, he fell into the hands of a party of dacoits. The simplicity of his character

and his sincere devotion to faith changed his captors into a band of devout followers. For some time Ḥaji Sahib continued the work of preaching his doctrines to the people of the neighbouring villages. One of the striking innovations in his teachings was the declaration of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent as *dar-ul-harb* where Friday and 'Id prayers could not be offered. His disciples were required to repent their past sins and take a solemn vow to lead a righteous life in future. As his movement was spreading among the peasants and uniting them together, the zamindars began to oppose him. He was ultimately driven away from Navabari in Dacca district, where he had settled. Returning to his native village he continued his work among the Muslim masses of the neighbouring places. His movement did not attract much attention during his time because he was an unostentatious and quiet worker, but when we study his work in the light of the circumstances of that time, we realize that his achievement was by no means small.

Muḥammad Muḥsin (better known as Dudhu Mian), the son and successor of Ḥaji Shari'atullah, was born in 1819. When still young he visited Mecca on pilgrimage. Dudhu Mian made the movement of his father strong and popular by organizing it in a systematic manner. The whole of East Bengal was divided into circles which were placed under *khalifahs* who kept the teacher informed of whatever happened in their jurisdiction and also protected the members of the sect against the zamindar. Under these circumstances the opposition of the zamindars and the indigo-planters became open, but they were unable to check the growth of the movement. Ultimately the *Ḥajis*, as the sect was called, became an object of dread to their opponents, particularly the Hindu zamindars and the European planters. Dudhu Mian vehemently opposed the cesses levied by the landlords on the Muslim *ryots* some of which were very much hated, such a contribution for the decoration of images. The refusal to pay taxes naturally resulted in riots

and litigation. Dudhu Mian's influence continued to grow until he took upon himself the duty of deciding cases and quarrels, and those who would not take their matters to him were severely dealt with. He declared that the persecution of those who refused to accept his doctrines was by no means objectionable, nor was any sympathy to be shown to those who appealed to Government courts against the orders of the society or its acknowledged leaders. Dudhu Mian died on 24th September, 1860, at Bahadurpur and was buried there. He left three sons, but none of them possessed the energy or ability of their father. The sect consequently began to lose its strength.

Titu Mir

While Sayyid Ahmad was busy fighting against the Sikhs in the north-west, a follower of his, Nithar 'Ali, popularly known as Titu Mir, was active in Bengal. Titu Mir had come under the spiritual influence of Sayyid Ahmad in 1821 while in Mecca. On his return home he started in right earnest the work of reformation among Muslims. He organised the Muslim peasantry in the district of 24-Parganas and took up the fight against the Hindu zamindars, who, encouraged by the British rulers, had adopted an attitude of highhandedness and contempt towards their Muslim tenants. The climax was reached with Krishnadeva Rai, a big zamindar of the district, imposed on all his Muslim tenants, a special tax on beards. When his men went to the village Sarfrazpur to collect this hateful tax, they were confronted by Titu Mir who challenged their right to do so. Faced with determined opposition the zamindar's men fled. This was followed by a punitive expedition against the village organised by Mr. Alexander, the Magistrate of Barisal, as a result of which the Muslim villagers suffered considerable losses—their houses were looted and their mosques burnt. The Muslims suffered further at the hands of the law courts. It was events like these which encouraged Titu Mir to organise the Muslim peasantry to enable them to

put up effective resistance. Titu Mir's influence grew rapidly. By 1831 he was able to set up a government of his own. Ma'sum was appointed commander of his forces and Miskin Shah, an influential *sufi*, his adviser. He constructed a fort of bamboos in his village Narkel-Bariya. Alarmed by his growing influence the Government of the East India Company issued a warrant of arrest. To execute this order a detachment of the army was sent consisting of 100 English soldiers and 300 sepoys. Titu Mir offered stiff resistance. He fought bravely and with great determination, but he was overwhelmed by superior equipment and greater numbers. He died fighting and his men were dispersed. His example, however, was to become a source of inspiration for the Muslims of Bengal in the years to come.

Aligarh Movement

In the years that followed the War of Independence the fortunes of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent were at their lowest ebb. They were the chief fighters in the War of Independence and had, therefore, to bear the entire burden of the revengeful policy of the British whose attitude towards the vanquished was by no means fair. Delhi at that time was not only the residence of the last Mughul Emperor; it was also the social, spiritual, literary and intellectual centre of the Muslims of the sub-continent, and it was here that the heaviest blow fell. As a result of indiscriminate massacre, arson and loot which accompanied the British occupation of Delhi and the large scale arrests, confiscations and executions which followed it, the Muslim aristocracy was almost wiped out of existence. What was perhaps even worse was that the Muslims, from now on, were as a community kept back in every possible way.

The effects of this anti-Muslim policy were far reaching. As Muslims were systematically kept out of Government offices, their view-point was never considered when the policies of the

Government were framed or the rule of administration drafted. Even Muslim Trusts like the famous Muhsin Trust of Calcutta were being used for the benefit of non-Muslims and in revenue matters the petty Government officials were playing havoc.

The misfortunes of Muslims were largely due to Government policy, but they themselves were also contributing towards them. They had come to dislike and detest everything connected with the British—including their educational system. Thus was created a vicious circle for the Muslims who sank lower and lower in political, economic and social spheres.

Syed Ahmed Khan, who faced this situation successfully, was born in 1817. His father was a religious recluse and he spent his childhood mostly at the house of his maternal grandfather who was the *wazir* of the Mughul Emperor, Shah 'Alam II. Thus Syed Ahmed inherited from his father and maternal grandfather the gifts of religious devotion and political farsightedness. When he grew up, he joined the judicial department of the East India Company and spent his leisure in writing or editing books—mainly on religious themes or subjects connected with the glorious past of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. After the War of Independence he wrote a pamphlet on the causes of the War, pointing out very frankly that it was due to the defects of the British administration that the Muslims were forced to go to war. He now devoted more and more of his leisure to the popularisation of western education and established schools at Moradabad and Ghazipur. He also set up a Translation Society—later called the Scientific Society—which arranged for Urdu translations of important English books on science, literature and history.

Syed Ahmed's efforts in the educational field had so far been directed towards the advancement of all his countrymen. But in 1867 the anti-Urdu movement, started at Banaras where he was posted at that time, completely changed the course of his policy. It convinced him that if the Hindus and Muslims

could not agree even on the choice of a national language, and if the Hindus were so narrow-minded as to object to Urdu, which represented a linguistic compromise between Hindi and Persian, there was no possibility of a common nationhood in the sub-continent. Henceforth he devoted himself to the cause of Muslim education and after a visit of England, where he studied the working of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, he organized a "Society for Educational Progress of Indian Muslims", which decided to establish the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

In 1875, a preparatory school was established and in 1876 Syed Ahmad retired from Government service to devote himself wholly to the work of educational reform at Aligarh. On the 8th January, 1877, was laid the foundation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College which Syed Ahmed wanted to be "a nursery of leaders".

After the College was well established, Syed Ahmed founded, in 1886, the Muhammadan Education Conference which held meetings at various places and carried the message of Aligarh to all parts of the sub-continent.

Syed Ahmed Khan, by dint of hard, constructive work, had become the undisputed leader of the Indo-Pakistani Muslims. In the political field he co-operated with the leaders of the Hindus, like Surendra Nath Bannerjee, on important questions, but he fearlessly championed the Muslim cause when he felt it to be necessary. For example, while speaking on the Self-Government Bill, he ably brought out the danger of introducing, without any safeguards, the system of "election, pure and simple", in a land where caste and communal sentiments were dominant and all the communities had not made equal progress in education. He also advised the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress agitation, as the success of its efforts must result in the Muslims being reduced to an ineffectual minority, and, generally speaking, the Muslims followed the advice given by him.

Syed Ahmed's main efforts were devoted to the educational sphere but the movement started by him, known as the Aligarh Movement, was a very comprehensive one. It was an attempt to enable the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, who were in a state of backwardness, to adjust themselves to the requirements of the modern world in the educational, economic, social, political and literary spheres.

The Aligarh Movement was also responsible for considerable activity in the sphere of religion. Syed Ahmed's commentary on the *Holy Qur'an* could not be completed but even so it comprised 7 bulky volumes. He wrote many other books, pamphlets and articles on religious subjects, and tried to prove that in every respect the teachings of Islam were in harmony with the modern scientific theories. Although his views on certain religious questions have not been accepted by the orthodox yet the service he rendered to the *Faith* by answering the criticisms of Christian missionaries are widely appreciated. But his religious writings and by his advocacy of social reforms, he exercised a very deep influence on Muslim society, especially on the rising generations. His *Essays on the Life of Muhammad* paved the way for Syed Ameer 'Ali's *Spirit of Islam*, which has been described as "the best book on Islam in any western language".

Many co-workers of Syed Ahmed followed his example, and published learned works on refutation of Christian criticisms of Islam. Maulana Shibli Nu'mani and Maulvi Chiragh 'Ali achieved a special distinction in this and built up a tradition which has made Muslims in the sub-continent worthy champions of Islamic religion.

Syed Ahmed has such solid achievements to his credit that one wonders how in a brief span of life he could accomplish all that he did. This was due not only to his greatness but

because he was a born leader of men. He succeeded because he worked hard, sincerely and wisely and was able to inspire some noble souls like Ḥali, Muḥsin-ul-Mulk, Shibli, Sami' Ullah, Viqar-ul-Mulk and Maulvi Chiragh 'Ali.

Syed Ahmed filled the big void created in the life of Indo-Pakistan Muslims by the disappearance of the Muslim rule. He showed them how to discharge that responsibility for their progress and welfare, which was being formerly shouldered by the Muslim Government. But Syed Ahmed did more than that. His long life, spanning almost a century, bridged the gulf between the medieval and the modern Islam in the sub-continent. Himself a relic of the palmy days of the Great Mughuls, he ushered in a new era. He gave the Muslims a new cohesion, a new political policy, new educational ideas, a new approach to their individual and national problems, a new prose, and built up an organisation which could carry on his work. Writing about Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Dr. Spear observes very rightly in his book, "*India, Pakistan and the West*", "In his whole attitude was implicit the concept of Pakistan".

CHAPTER XLVII

THE BIRTH OF PAKISTAN

Muslim struggle for independence

The history of constitutional struggle in the sub-continent up to the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, has been outlined in a previous chapter. So far as the protection of the rights of Muslims was concerned, there were four well-defined stages (1) During the first period when the leadership was in the hands of Syed Ahmed Khan and his successor, Nawwab Muhsin-ul-Mulk, the Muslims tried to get a fair share of representation in councils, local and district boards and Government service through nomination. (2) In the beginning of this century, however, the Liberal Party came into power in Britain and it became obvious that they would introduce an element of election in the councils. Nawwab Muhsin-ul-Mulk, therefore, took necessary steps to safeguard Muslim rights and organized a representative deputation, under the leadership of His Highness the Agha Khan, to press on Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, the desirability of Muslims electing their own representatives. In October, 1906, the deputation met Lord Minto, who accepted the proposal, and thus a major step towards the recognition of Muslims as a separate entity was taken. Shortly afterwards the All India Muslim League was established at Dacca to carry on the work of the deputation and provide a permanent organization to safeguard the political rights of the Muslims. (3) The third important stage was reached with the Congress-League Pact of 1916, under which the Congress accepted the demand of the Muslims for representation through separate electorates and agreed to the reservation of a number of seats for Muslims in the central and the provincial councils. The provisions of this Pact were incorporated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which were inaugurated in 1921. (4) Political activity, thereafter, became more intense, and as the grant of self-rule appeared imminent, the whole position had

to be reviewed. In 1928, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah set forth his *Fourteen Points* which became the basic Muslim demands for the next stage of constitutional advancement. The acceptance of these demands came piecemeal, but by the time the Government of India Act, 1935, came into force many of the demands made by the Muslims—like the grant of full reforms to N.W.F.P., separation of Sind from Bombay, determination of Muslim share in services, non-conversion of the Muslim majority in Bengal and the Punjab to a minority—had been accepted through the Communal Award and other enactments and orders.

In 1936, after nearly half a century's struggle for the safeguarding of their rights the Muslim position did not appear very bad on paper. Two new Muslim majority provinces had come into existence with the separation of Sind and grant of reforms to N.W.F.P. and with a little organization and political skill Muslim representatives could win the majority of seats in the Punjab and Bengal. The struggle for reforms in Baluchistan continued. Thus the fundamental constitutional position was not depressing, but the political organisation of Muslims was so weak that they appeared incapable of safeguarding their position. The All India Muslim League which had borne the brunt of the struggle for Muslim rights had grown weak during the days of the Khilafat Movement, when the popular attention was diverted from home affairs to happenings outside. Provincial organisations like the Unionist Party, which depended for their existence on the support of the British bureaucracy, were all powerful. To add to these difficulties there was not a single leader within the sub-continent who could rally the Muslims under a common flag and assert their rights after the death of Maulana Mohammad Ali in 1931.

The return of Quaid-i-Azam

It was at this juncture that some of the leading Muslims requested Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who had left the sub-continent and

settled in London to practise before the Privy Council, to return and take over the leadership of his co-religionists. He accepted the request and finally returned to Hind-Pakistan in 1935, and soon after started the work of reorganizing the All India Muslim League. Its constitution was revised at the annual session held in Bombay in April, 1936, with a view to making it a more democratic and living organization. Steps were also taken, for the first time, to contest elections on behalf of the Muslim League. A Cenral Election Board with provincial branches was set up to take in hand the arrangements for fighting the provincial elections under the Government of India Act, 1935. Quaid-i-Azam toured throughout the sub-continent to convass support for the League candidates, but his efforts were only partially successful. The League did well in U.P., Bombay and other minority provinces, but it failed badly against firmly entrenched provincial parties in the Punjab and Bengal. The provincial elections of 1937 produced many surprises. The League had not come out with flying colours. The Indian National Congress, on the other hand, achieved a success which neither its supporters nor its opponents had anticipated. Before and even during the elections the Congress leaders had been friendly to the Muslim League; now they became cold and distant. Under the Act of 1935 there was a provision for inclusion of Muslim representatives in the cabinets even in provinces where they were in a minority. The Congress refused to nominate League representatives and offered the ministry to any insignificant person amongst the Muslim members who was prepared to sign the Congress pledge.

The procedure gave great offence to the Muslims but having committed one mistake the Congress continued making others. In the absence of true Muslim representatives, the Congress ministers had no one to advise them about the views of the Muslims, when they took decisions affecting the general population. Deprived of this advice, the Congress Governments

took several steps which caused deep resentment amongst the Muslims, and when the Congress ministers resigned office in 1939, a *Day of Deliverance* was observed by the Muslims.

The policy followed by the Congress Governments in the provinces went a long way to strengthen the All India Muslim League. The Muslims of the majority provinces were deeply touched by the sufferings of their co-religonists in the Congress provinces. Hence, under the growing pressure of Muslim public opinion in their own provinces which was fast coming round to the ideal of the Muslim League the Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal thought it advisable to accept the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam and agreed to abide by the policy of the All India Muslim League.

Reorganization of the Muslim League

The decisions which were announced at the Lucknow session of the League in 1937 not only opened a new chapter for the organisatian but marked a turning point in the history of Hind-Pakistan. In 1930 'Allamah Iqbal; the great philosopher and poet-' in his presidential address at the Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League, set before the nation the goal of a Muslim State. He pointed out that unlike European countries the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was not the home of a single nation. It was inhabited by a conglomeration of nations who differed greatly from one another. This presidential address may be regarded as a land-mark in the political history of this sub-continent. The separation of Sind, the grant of reforms to N.W.F.P., and certain other factors had facilitated achievement of the goal set by Iqbal before the Muslims, but even then very few had seriously thought of cutting themselves adrift from the rest of the sub-continet. The bitter experience of the Congress rule had, however, opened their eyes.

Pakistan Resolution

As soon as the reorganization of the Muslim League was complete after the Lucknow session, the Quaid-i-Azam took up the question of determining the goal of the Muslim Nation. A

resolution was passed by the Provincial Muslim Conference held at Karachi in 1938 adopting the two nation theory and appointing a Committee for the purpose of examining the question of demanding effective safeguards for the Muslims. This Committee recommended to creation of a separate Muslim State as the only effective safeguard.

The conclusions of the Committee were endorsed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and later the annual general session of the League held in March 1940 adopted what is generally known as the Lahore or the Pakistan Resolution. It laid down that in the future constitutional arrangements for the country, "the areas, in which the Muslims are numerically in a mejority, as in the North-Westeru and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute an independent State". The resolution was moved by the then Prime Minister of Bengal, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, and supported by Muslim leaders from all provinces. It was passed unanimously and being confirmed next year at Madras; it was incorporated in the constitution of the Muslim League.

"Cripps' offer"

The first indication that the Muslims were nearing their goal of a separate State came in the beginning of 1942 when, alarmed by the war situation in the southeast Asia, the British Governmcnt made an effort to come to a settlement with the Indo-Pakistan political parties, and Sir Stafford Cripps was sent with what is known as the "Cripps' offer". The Cripps proposals provided for independence of the sub-continent after the War and conceded the right of self-determination to the provincial units, As, under the proposed arrangements, the province were free either to remain within or to get out of the Indian Union, the provinces where the Muslims were in a majority could presumably form their own federation—*i.e.* Pakistan—in due course. The offer was rejected by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League for different reasons, and was ultimately withdrawn.

Shortly after the failure of the Cripps Mission, the Indian National Congress launched a "Quit India" movement and the important Congress leaders were taken into custody. This was followed by a lull in constitutional activities, which continued more or less till the end of World War II. In the general elections that were held in Birtain after the conclusion of the War the Labour Party came into power with an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. With a view to solving Indo-Pakistan problem the Labour Government, as a preliminary measure ordered general elections in the sub-continent. The results of the elections of 1946 brought a signal victory to the All India Muslim League and more than vindicated its claim as the sole repaesentative organization of the Muslims. During the last eight or nine years the Quaid-i-Azam had organised the League so efficiently and the Muslims had rallied so whole-heartedly round their representative political organisation that in the Central Assembly Muslim League won all the Muslim seats. It also won a large majority of the Muslim seats in the key perovinees of Bengal, Punjab and Sind.

Cabinet Mission

After the elections were over, the Labour Government sent a Cabinet Mission consisting of three senior Ministers of the British Government, Mr. A.V. Alexander, the Defence Minister, Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State of India, to settle the Indo-Pakistan question on the spot. The Cabinet Mission failed to secure an agreement between the two major parties, namely, the Congress and the Muslim League, and put forward its own solution of the problem which is generally known as the Cabinet Mission Plan. Under this scheme the sub-continent was not to be partitioned and there was to be one Central Government to deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications. The Muslim League demand was, however, partially met by the

division of the entire sub-continent into three groups of provinces and by giving each group the right to frame its own constitution. Both the League and the Congress accepted the plan but soon the Congress leaders acted in a manner which showed that their acceptance of the Plan was far from genuine. They put forward their own interpretation of the terms of the Plan and insisted that even Cabinet Mission had no right to explain them. The League, on the other hand accepted the Plan on the basis of the clear-cut statements made by the members of the Mission at the time of its presentation. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru gave an example of the way the Congress wished to interpret the terms of the Plan by stating that the term "foreign affairs" included not only foreign relations but foreign trade and even customs and currency questions, *viz.* the subjects which had never, under the Government of India, been included in 'Foreign Affairs' and were the responsibility of Ministries of Finance and Commerce. The Congress obviously aimed at nullifying the provisions regarding "Grouping" and wished to establish a strong central government in spite of the clear statements made by the authors of the scheme. In the light of the attitude of the Congress the League had to reconsider the position and at its Bombay session adopted a resolution withdrawing its approval of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

The British Government made one more effort to save the Cabinet Mission Scheme and preserve the unity of Hind-Pakistan. In December, 1946, the British Premier invited the Viceroy of India, the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh to London, and tried to straighten out the issue. After consulting their legal advisers the British Government issued a statement which fully bore out the interpretation placed by the Muslim League on the terms of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress accepted this statement but again

twisted its meaning in such a way as to nullify its effect, and it became obvious even to the Labour Government that the Congress had no desire to implement the Cabinet Mission Plan on the lines on which it was drafted. The British Premier, therefore, made a statement in the House of Commons on the 20th of February, 1947, in which it was stated that the British would quit the sub-continent by June, 1948 and would decide at that time to hand over power to one or more Governments.

This was the end of the Cabinet Mission Plan. It was now obvious that the British Government would agree to hand over power to more than one successor Government.

The Congress, true to the technique which it had consistently followed since its so-called acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, refused to accept this interpretation and continued its opposition to the division of the sub-continent.

Another complication arose on account of the attitude of the Unionist Premier of the Punjab, Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, who had abandoned the League and fallen into the laps of its political opponents. He was forced to resign under the pressure of a Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Muslim League. On this the Governor sent for the leader of the League Party and asked for his assistance in the formation of Government. The League leader was willing to accept this invitation but the Hindu and Sikh members of the legislature opposed the establishment of a League Government in the Punjab. One of them, Master Tara Singh, ceremoniously unsheathed his *kirpan* (sword) on the steps of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and declared "The time has come when the might of the sword alone shall rule. The Sikhs are ready. We are to bring the Muslims to their senses". The Hindu leaders also expressed similar sentiments.

These violent speeches were soon followed by action, and processions of Hindus and Sikhs were taken out at Lahore

which first clashed with the police and later started communal rioting. From Lahore the trouble spread to Amritsar, the citadel of Sikhism. Actually this was not a sudden or spontaneous development. The Hindu-*cum*-Sikh plan was to prevent the party representing the Muslims, who constituted a clear majority of the population, from forming a government in the Punjab even at the cost of a civil war. As the special correspondent of the Hindustan Times stated in an important despatch published on the 5th March, 1947, the Hindus and Sikhs had been collecting arms and were quite confident about the outcome of the civil war. Things, however, did not go according to their plan. Even in Amritsar the Sikhs met with stubborn resistance from the Muslims. In other places where Muslims were in a majority, the Hindu and Sikh losses were higher, and the Congress leaders realised that the Sikhs would be as ineffective in preventing the advent of Pakistan as Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana. On the 5th and 7th March, large-scale rioting and arson, which reduced half the city to shambles, took place in Amritsar. Three days later the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution demanding a division of the Punjab and by implication agreeing to a division of India. The Congress leaders saw that the Sikhs could not keep Muslims from coming into power in the Punjab and decided to save what they could.

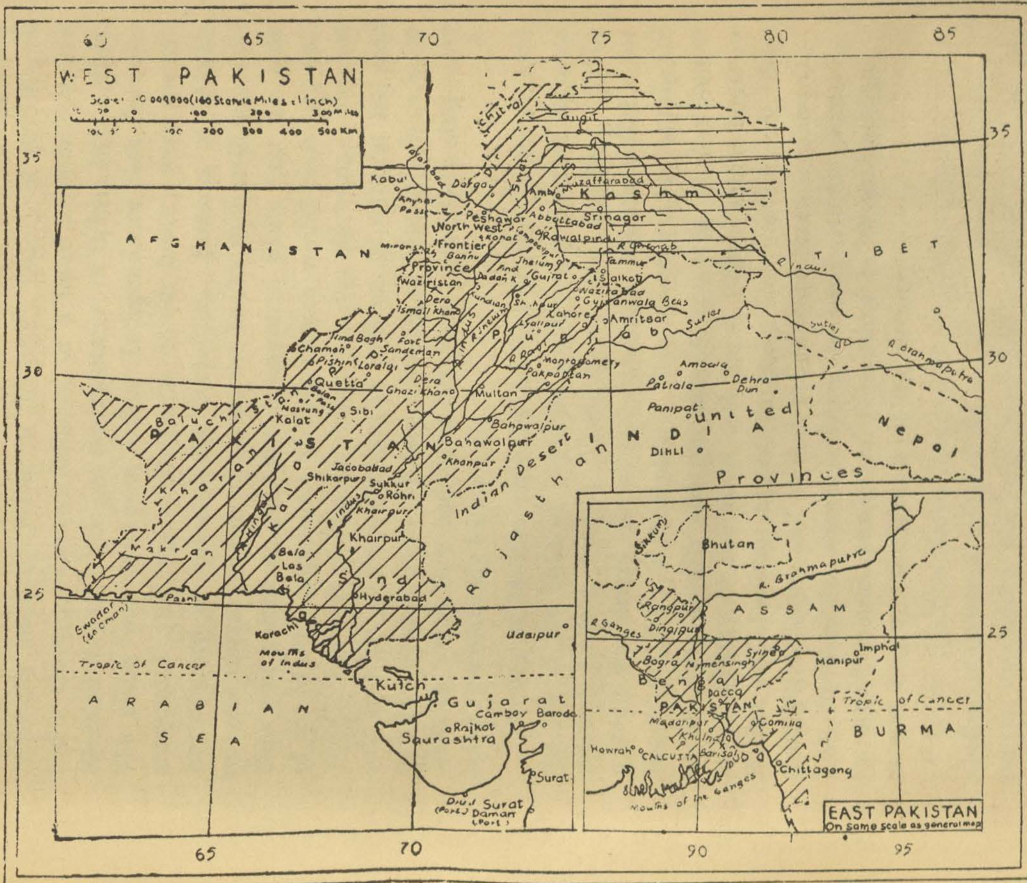
Birth of Pakistan

Soon after this, Mountbatten came as Viceroy with instructions to speed up the solution of the constitutional problem and announced that the British would leave the sub-continent by the 15th of August, 1947. Mountbatten started consultations with the leaders of various political parties. Ultimately as a result of the agreement, to which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of the Congress, the Quaid-i-Azam on behalf of the Muslim League, and Sardar Baldev Singh on behalf of the Sikhs, gave public expression through their broadcasts on the All India Radio'

the Mountbatten Plan was announced on the 3rd of June, 1947. Under this Plan steps were to be taken to ascertain the wishes of the representatives of Sind, West Punjab and East Bengal, and they declared themselves in favour of a separate State (Pakistan). Under the Plan plebiscites were to be held in N.W.F.P. and the district of Sylhet on this issue. Both the areas declared in favour of Pakistan by overwhelming majorities. The task of the division of government assets and determination of exact boundaries of the two dominions was now taken in hand.

Mountbatten (who was well known for his Congress leanings) was appointed the Governor-General of Bharat while Quaid-i-Azam became the first Governor-General of Pakistan. On the 14th August Mountbatten arrived in Karachi to inaugurate the Pakistan Constitutent Assembly and formally proclaimed the creation of the new State of Pakistan which was acclaimed with great enthusiasm by the Muslims.

Though Pakistan had come into being with the full agreement of the Hindu and Sikh leaders, yet it had to encounter their opposition from the very outset. The new Government was confronted with such problems as might easily have overwhelmed even a well-established Government. Even before the inauguration of Pakistan, large scale massacre of Muslims had started in the East Punjab. Sikh leaders had been given vague hopes of a Sikh State and soon started massacring and driving out Muslims from the districts of Amritsar, Ferozpur, Gurdaspur, Ludhiana and Jullundur, and the Sikh States of Nabha, Patiala, Faridkot and other areas which were to form the nucleus of Sikhistan. There was considerable Muslim population in these areas, but Muslim policemen had now been disarmed and the Hindu and Sikh policemen and soldiers actively assisted their co-religionists in the massacre of defenceless Muslims. Indeed in certain areas these butcherie swere carried out by experienced I. N. A. officers (and details of their preparations



WEST PAKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
TIBET
Kashmir
Srinagar
Gilgit
Chitral
Muzaffarabad
Peshawar
Abbottabad
Rawalpindi
Kabul
Khyber Pass
North West Frontier Province
Waziristan
Bannu
Jhelum
Gujrat
Sialkot
Jammu
Gujranwala
Lahore
Amritsar
Lyallpur
Montgomery
Pakpattan
Multan
Quetta
Chaman
Pishin
Loralai
Fort Sandeman
Dera Ismail Khan
Dera Ghazi Khan
Sibi
Kalat
Mastung
Baluchistan
Kharan
Makran
PAKISTAN
Bahawalpur
Khanpur
Jacobabad
Shikarpur
Sukkur
Rohri
Khairpur
Bela
Las Bela
Sind
Hyderabad
Karachi
Pasni
Gwadar
Mouths of Indus
Tropic of Cancer
Kutch
Gujarat
Rajkot
Saurashtra
Surat
Baroda
Daman
Udaipur
Rajasthan
Indian Desert
Punjab
Patiala
Ambala
Dehra Dun
Panipat
DIHLI
United Provinces
INDIA
Nepal
R. Brahmaputra
Sutlej
R. Indus
ARABIAN SEA
65
70
75
80
85
35
30
25
Bhutan
Sikkim
ASSAM
Rangpur
Dinajpur
R. Ganges
Bogra
Mymensingh
Sylhet
Imphal
Manipur
Bengal
Dacca
PAKISTAN
Comilla
Madaripur
Khulna
Barisal
Howrah
CALCUTTA
Chittagong
Mouths of the Ganges
BURMA
90
95
EAST PAKISTAN
On same scale as general map

were even reported to Lord Mountbatten, but he remained criminally inactive. Never in the entire history of British rule had a Governor-General behaved in a more irresponsible and inhuman way than this last representative of British Imperialism. The result was that even before Independence was formally announced, the biggest massacres of our history were started, accompanied by indescribable brutalities. Streams of Muslim refugees started pouring in across the border in appalling conditions and indeed at one time it appeared likely that the bulk of the Muslim population of East Punjab would be wiped out. The Government of Pakistan was not a day old when it had not only to think of the settlement of millions of refugees but had to make arrangements for safe removal of Muslims from large areas in which they had lived for ages, and where they were being systematically butchered.

Dismay at Muslim suffering in East Punjab overshadowed the joy of the birth of Pakistan. When the Muslim refugees reached Lahore, Sialkot, Shaikhupura and Lyallpur, public opinion was deeply stirred and conditions became difficult for Hindus and Sikhs in these areas. They, therefore, had to migrate to the East Punjab and the biggest exchange of population in the history of the world took place. The Governments in Bharat and Pakistan agreed to move the Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab and to shift the Muslims from East Punjab. This development caused suffering to innumerable people but by securing homogeneity of population in West Pakistan it helped in the consolidation of the country.

While the new Government was struggling with the heart-rending problem of refugees the reorganisation of the administrative machinery was also receiving attention. Luckily the Quaid-i-Azam was able to collect an efficient team to assist him. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, whom the Quaid-i-Azam

described as his "right arm" in the days of struggle for Pakistan, became the Prime Minister, and efforts were made to attract talent from all parts of the sub-continent. A large number of senior and experienced Muslim officers was not available but those who were there worked with a "fanatic zeal" and soon the new State was working on an efficient basis.

One of the major problems which the State had to deal with was that of finance. Before Pakistan was established and even more so after its inauguration the "expert" used to say that Pakistan would founder on the financial rocks. The finances of the country, however, were so carefully and efficiently managed that in the very first year Pakistan had a surplus budget—performance which was repeated in subsequent years. The position regarding foreign trade was equally satisfactory, and Pakistan was one of the few countries in the world which had a favourable balance of trade with dollar areas.

Death of Quaid-i-Azam

The progress of Pakistan since its inception had belied all hostile propaganda, and its well-wishers had every reason to be satisfied with the way things were moving. But soon a heavy blow fell. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was quite advanced in years when he took up the struggle for Pakistan, had been subjected to severe physical and mental strain before and after the inception of the new State. In the beginning of 1948 he fell ill and had to move to Ziarat (Baluchistan). Even during the period of illness he continued to discharge his official duties unremittingly. This arduous and unceasing labour for the infant State which his wisdom, sagacity, foresight and iron determination had brought into being, was too great a strain on his failing health. On September 11, 1948, he passed away. The death of the Father of the Nation plunged the entire country into the profoundest grief and sorrow. In this hour of gloom,

however, people realised that not only had the Quaid-i-Azam with his skill and singleness of purpose performed almost a miracle in achieving Pakistan but that he had left the new State with its foundations truly laid.

CHRONOLOGY

B.C.	
327-326	Invasion of India by Alexander.
325	Alexander leaves Hind-Pakistan.
c. 324	Rise of the Maurya Dynasty.
c. 305	Expedition of Seleukos Nikator.
c. 273-232	The reign of Ashoka.
A.C.	
320	Gupta Era begins.
c. 330	Accession of Samudra Gupta.
c. 330	Accession of Chandra Gupta II.
455	Accession of Skanda Gupta.
473	Kumara Gupta II.
606	Accession of Harshavardhana.
619-620	Supremacy of Sasanka in Eastern India.
622	Era of the *Hijrah*.
643	Harsha's meeting with Hiuen-Tsang.
c. 646-647	Death of Harsha.
711	Invasion of Sind by Muḥammad bin Qasim.
712	Arab conquest of Nirun and Aror. Defeat and death of Dahir.
713	Capture of Multan by the Muslims.
c. 962	Foundation of the Kingdom of Ghaznin.
977	Accession of Subuktigin.
986-987	First invasion of Subuktigin.
997	Death of Subuktigin.
998	Accession of Sulṭan Maḥmud.
1001	Defeat of Jaipal by Sulṭan Maḥmud.
1008	Battle near Waihind.
1013	Maḥmud captures Nandana.
1018	Qannauj seized by Maḥmud of Ghaznin.
1026	Sack of Somnath.
1030	Death of Sulṭan Maḥmud.
1175	Muḥammad bin Sam invades Hind-Pakistan and captures Multan.

1186	Fall of the Yamini Dynasty.
1191	First battle of Tarain.
1192	Second battle of Tarain.
	Fall of Prithviraj Chauhan.
1192-1193	Quṭb-ud-din Aibak takes Delhi.
1194	Battle of Chandwar. Fall of the Gahadavalas.
c. 1200	Ikhtiyar-ud-din's conquests.
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1210	Death of Quṭb-ud-din.
	Accession of Aram Shah.
1210-1211	Accession of Iltutmish.
1221	Invasion of the Mongols under Ghengiz Khan.
1231-1232	Foundation of the Quṭb Minar.
1236	Death of Iltutmish.
	Accession of Raḍiyah.
1240	Deposition and murder of Raḍiyah.
	Accession of Mu'izz-ud-din Bahram.
1246	Deposition and death of Mas'ud.
	Accession of Naṣir-ud-din Maḥmood.
1266	Death of Naṣir-ud-din Maḥmud.
	Accession of Ghiyath-ud-din Balban.
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1280	Bughra Khan appointed to the Government of Bengal.
1287	Death of Balban.
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1290	Death of Kaiqubad.
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1294	Devagir conquered by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji.
1296	Accession of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji.
1297	Conquest of Gujrat.

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1351	Death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.
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1363	Firuz's first expedition to Sind.
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1393	Independent Sultanate of Jaunpur.
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1429	Transfer of the Bahmani capital from Gulbarga to Bidar.
1451	Bahlul Lodi ascends the throne of Delhi.
1458-1511	Maḥmud Begarha.
1469	Birth of Guru Nanak.
1472	Birth of Farid (Sher Khan).
1481	Murder of Maḥmud Gawan.
1489	Accession of Sikandar Lodi.
1489-1490	Foundation of the 'Adil-Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur.
1490	Establishment of the independent Niẓam-Shahi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar.
1490	Accession of Babur in Farghanah.
1497-1498	First voyage of Vasco de Gama.
1504	Babur occupies Kabul.
c. 1509-1527	Rana Sangha.
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1511	Babur captures Samarqand again.
1512-1518	Independence of the Quṭb-Shahi Dynasty of Golconda.

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